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400 YEARS  
OF  
AMERICA.

HER

*Discovery, History, Achievements  
and Politics.*



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# FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PRE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERIES.

**T**HOUGH there are many legends to the effect, there is really no evidence of the discovery of the Western Continent except by the Norsemen. A. D. 966 Herjulfson, a navigator sailing from Iceland to Greenland, was caught in a storm and driven westward to Newfoundland or Labrador. He did not land, but described the coast as low and thickly wooded, which was so different from the cliffs of Greenland that there was no doubt of its being a new country.

Fourteen years later Leif Erickson, an adventurous Icelandic captain, determined to know for himself whether the story of Herjulfson was true or false, sailed westward and in the spring of the year 1001 landed in Labrador, and made explorations for a considerable distance along the coast. The country was milder and more beautiful than his own and it pleased him to remain a while, so he journeyed southward to Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and some believe they have evidence that he visited the harbor of New York. He remained a year in North America and on his return the spirit of adventure seized upon his

brother Thorvald, who made a voyage to Maine and Massachusetts, when he died at what is now the city of Fall River in 1002. In 1005 Thorstein, a still younger brother, brought a band of followers and in 1007 Thorfinn Karlsefni, the most noted mariner of the day, came with 150 followers, and made exploration along the coast of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and probably went as far south as the capes of Virginia.

Other companies of Icelanders and Norwegians were content to remain further north, and so colonies were planted in Newfoundland and in Nova Scotia. It is believed by historians that these people supposed themselves still on Greenland, which, bending around an arm of the ocean, had reappeared in the west. The settlement did not prosper. There was nothing to sell and nobody to buy, and so the spirit of adventure died within their bosoms and they returned to their own country and the world profited nothing by the discovery of Vinland, as the Norsemen called it. They were a lawless race of men, pirates who acknowledged no law save their own will. They were stalwart men who wore robes made from the skin of Polar bears. They wore on their heads a sort of hood decorated with eagle's wings and the tusks of walruses. Mailed armor protected them from foes, for they were of exceedingly ferocious disposition. In a few years even the Icelanders themselves had forgotten Leif Erickson's discovery, and Europe had not heard of it at all. Some of the old legends about a great country to the westward were charming and some were sad; no doubt most of them were the result of optical illusions;

for we have accounts of attempted voyages to the beautiful country which at times seemed very near to the Canary Isles, but which vanished when approached. An Arabian writer of great note, Xerif al Edrisi, who was surnamed the Nubian, thus wrote : "The ocean encircles the inhabited earth and all beyond it is unknown. No one has been able to verify anything concerning it, on account of its difficult and perilous navigation, its great obscurity, its profound depth and frequent tempests ; through fear of its mighty fishes and haughty winds ; yet there are many islands in it, some peopled, others uninhabited. There is no mariner who dares to enter into its deep waters ; or if any have done so they have merely kept along its coasts, fearful of departing from them. The waves of the ocean, though they roll as high as mountains, yet maintain themselves without breaking ; for if they broke, it would be impossible for a ship to plough them." That there was a man brave enough to dare the waves as high as mountains and who loved science more than he feared dangers the succeeding chapters will bear evidence.

## CHAPTER II.

### CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND HIS DISCOVERIES.

**H**IS birthplace was Genoa and his parents were wool combers. He was born somewhere between 1435 and 1436, though some biographers have placed the date at 1446. He was fair of face, with blue eyes and auburn hair, and had a pleasant countenance, and when older a commanding mein. When he had attained fame several noble families of the same name claimed kinship with him. And it is not improbable that he had been of noble lineage. Feuds were so common among the Genoese families that while some branches of the family dwelt in lordly castles others were among the humblest of laborers. His father's name was Dominico Columbus (or Colombo, as it was written in Latin) and his mother's maiden name was Susannah Fontanarossa. There were three children younger than Christopher—Bartholomew and Giacomo (or James in Spanish). "Diego," his only sister's name, is not found in history, but she married a man in very poor circumstances whose name was Giacomo Bavarello.

From earliest youth Columbus loved the sea. The story of Plato's fabulous island Atalantis was a favorite one to him, and the people of the Canaries frequently saw, or thought they saw, this great island to the westward. Probably they saw a mirage. But

these things, coupled with the fact that one or two pieces of carved wood that had no marks of iron implements used in the work had been picked up by mariners, made him quite sure that the Indies, as Asia was called, lay not far to the west.

The parents of Columbus gave him the best education possible to them. Besides the ordinary studies, reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic, he received instruction in Latin and was quite proficient in drawing and design, and for a short time became a student at the University of Pavia, where he studied geometry, geography, astronomy and navigation. According to some historians, after this he assisted his father in wool combing. This is vigorously denied by his son Fernando, and it seems with reason, for at fourteen years of age Columbus entered upon a nautical life. The love of marine life is common to boys of enterprising spirit living in sea ports. The city of Genoa offered little of interest to boys of spirit. It was walled in and behind it rose rough mountains, below spread the beautiful Mediterranean, the blue waters always alive with boats, whose crews not only brought beautiful goods for sale or barter, but marvelous tales of the lands which they had visited. The love of geography had become a passion with Columbus, and, indeed, it was incident to the fifteenth century. For a long time previous monkish bigotry and false learning had held such sway in Europe that geography and many other sciences had been lost to them. But in Africa the Arabian sages, gathered at Senaar, were taking the measurement of a degree of latitude and calculating the circumference of the earth "on the vast

plains of Mesopotamia." "The revival of science," says Washington Irving, "accompanied the revival of letters. Among the various authors which the awakening zeal for ancient literature had once more brought into knowledge were Pliny, Pomponius Mela and Strabo. From these were regained a fund of geographical knowledge which had long faded from the public mind. Curiosity was aroused to pursue this forgotten path, thus suddenly reopened." A translation of the work of Ptolemy had been made into Latin at the commencement of the century by Emanuel Chrysoloras, a noble and learned Greek, and so it became familiar to Italian students. Another translation had followed by James Angel de Scarpiaria, and this became common in the Italian libraries. It was a very beautiful book. Other writings began to be sought after, and Averroes, Alfraganus, and other Arabian sages, who had kept on with their scientific studies while Europe had remained in darkness, were now eagerly sought for. To be sure, the knowledge was imperfect and exceedingly limited, but it was like the dawn of day. At once the darkness seemed to give way and interest grew fast when discoveries began to be made along the Atlantic coast of Africa. Is it a wonder that the bright boy grew enthusiastic in his desire for more learning? The short time he had been in the University of Pavia had barely enabled him to acquire the rudiments of the necessary sciences, and so he taught himself from the books he could procure that which became of inestimable value to him in after years. Difficulties never vanquished him. The greater the obstacles, the more determined he became to over-



come them. His facilities for study were of the poorest, but how grand were his achievements.

His first voyage began when he was but fourteen years of age. He was under the command of a distant relative named Colombo, who was, according to some historians of that date, admiral of the Genoese squadron, though others credit him with a fleet of galleys of his own. He was possessed of a strong and adventurous spirit and seems to have always been ready and anxious to fight whenever a legal opportunity offered.

In those days every ship of commerce was fitted out like a man of war. Merchants not infrequently had to fight for their possessions. Piracy, though not legalized, was of common occurrence. There were frequent feuds among the Italian states. The armadas fitted out by private noblemen, who exercised a sort of sovereignty in their own domains, the cruising of the Catalonians and the wars waged against the Mahomedan powers, together with the private adventurers who hesitated not to seize on any available booty, made life on the high seas anything but a sinecure.

Of his early voyages we have no history. The first account of his voyages given is in 1459, when in a naval expedition fitted out in Genoa by John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, to make a descent upon Naples in hopes of recovering the kingdom for King Rene, or Reinier, or Renato, as it is variously written. At all events he was Count of Provence, and the republic of Genoa aided him with money and ships.

The enterprise seemed brilliant and daring, and men

of many fortunes hastened to enlist under the banner of Anjou. Among them was Colombo, already known as a man of intrepid daring, and who commanded either the whole squadron or a fleet of galleys all his own.

When on this ill-fated enterprise our Christopher Columbus was detailed on a dangerous errand to cut out a galley from the harbor of Tunis. The adventure is described by him in a letter written years afterward. He says: "It happened to me that King Reinier (whom God hath taken to himself) sent me to Tunis to capture the galley Fernandina, and when I arrived off the Island of St. Pedro, in Sardinia, I was informed that there were two ships and a carrack with the galley; by which intelligence my crew were so troubled that they determined to proceed no further, but to return to Marseilles for another vessel and more people. As I could not by any means compel them, I assented apparently to their wishes, altering the point of the compass and spreading all sail. It was then evening and next morning we were within the cape of Carthage, while all were firmly of the opinion that they were sailing towards Marseilles." This extract gives us an idea of the fearless character of the man, whose resolute perseverance brought him success in his important undertakings. For several years we have only occasional glimpses of Columbus. He is supposed to be engaged in commercial voyages on the Mediterranean and up the Levant, and again in war, like contests between the Italian states, and sometimes in pious and predatory warfare on the infidels.

In one instance related by his son Fernando,

Columbus commanded a ship in the squadron under Colombo, the son of the man with whom Columbus first undertook maritime life. He (Colombo) had heard that four Venetian galleys richly laden were on their return voyage from Flanders, and lay in wait for them on the Portuguese coast between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. A desperate engagement took place. The vessels grappled each other, and the crews fought hand to hand, and from ship to ship. The battle lasted from morning until evening, with great carnage on both sides. The vessel commanded by Columbus was engaged with a large Venetian galley. They threw hand grenades and other fiery missiles, and the galley was wrapped in flames. The vessels were fastened together by chains and grappling irons, and could not be separated; both were involved in one vast conflagration and soon became a mere blazing mass. The crews threw themselves into the sea. Columbus seized a floating oar, and being an expert swimmer attained the shore, though two leagues (six geographical miles) from shore.

After recovering from his exhaustion Columbus repaired to Lisbon, where he found many Genoese countrymen, and took up his residence. While in Lisbon Columbus was a regular attendant on divine services. At the chapel of the Convent of All Saints were many ladies of rank, either as boarders or in some religious capacity. In one of these ladies Columbus became deeply interested. The name of the young woman was Dona Felipa, the daughter of the late Bartolomeo Monis de Perestrello, who had been one of the most distinguished navigators under Prince Henry.

He had colonized and governed the island of Porto Santo, but he left his daughter no wealth, so we have every reason to believe that this marriage was one of affection only. After his marriage Columbus resided with his mother-in-law, who, seeing the interest manifested by him in matters pertaining to the sea, related to him all that she knew of the voyages and expeditions of her late husband, and brought to him also all his papers, charts, journals and memorandums. In this manner he became acquainted with the plans, conceptions and routes of the Portuguese, and having by his marriage and residence become naturalized in Portugal he occasionally sailed in expeditions to the coast of Guinea. He was very poor, supporting his family by making maps and charts and sending part of his earnings to his aged father for his support and the education of his younger brothers. The construction of a correct map or chart in those days was properly appreciated and the maker was honored as a man of science. Columbus was in correspondence with the most learned men of the day—among them Paulo Toscanelli of Florence. After his mother-in-law's death Columbus went to live on the island of Porto Santo, his wife having come into the inheritance of some property there. This residence was of great advantage to him. His wife's sister was married to Pedro Correo, a navigator of note, who had at one time been governor of the island. Then, too, he was frequently visited by navigators to and from Guinea. The subject of unknown lands was a fruitful one and Columbus began to form a theory. India, as he called Asia, was very much wider than it had been laid down

on the maps, by cosmographers, and the ocean was not so wide. There were found many things to corroborate this theory and many tales from worthy navigators, so that at last the theory was formulated that there was a large body of undiscovered land in the western part of the ocean, that it was attainable and fertile and inhabited. But in those days everything moved slowly. In 1481 John II ascended the throne of Portugal. He felt the value of discoveries, and becoming impatient with the slow way his fleets crept along the sea coast because they did not venture into the pathless ocean, having nothing to guide them, he called in his two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph (the latter a Jew), the most able astronomers and cosmographers of his kingdom, together with Martin Behem. They held a learned consultation and the result was the application of the astrolabe to navigation. It enabled seamen to ascertain the distance from the equator by the altitude of the sun. Immediately the effect on navigation began to be felt. No longer seamen crept around the shores, but boldly sailed into the trackless depths.

The court of Portugal had shown great liberality in rewarding nautical discoverers. Most of these discoverers had been rewarded by being created governors of the countries or islands so discovered. Columbus was encouraged by this liberality to seek an audience of King John II and ask for royal patronage in his efforts to undertake a shorter and more direct route to India. Two accounts descriptive of this audience are given us, one by Joam de Barros, the Portuguese historiographer, the other by Fernando, the son of Columbus. There is a great dis-

crepancy between these versions of the audience. Fernando describes the king as listening with great interest to his father, who consented to the terms asked by Columbus. Barros attributed the seeming acquiescence of the king to the importunities of Columbus, whom he considered a vainglorious man, given to fancies and fond of displaying his abilities. But there are reasons to believe that Barros was wrong. Envy was at work in the court, and the bishop of Ceuta suggested to the king that all the advantages to be gained by the enterprise might be attained without the recompense due to Columbus. So in an evil hour the king dispatched a caravel, ostensibly to carry provisions to the Cape de Verde Islands, but with sealed instructions to follow the route proposed by Columbus. Nothing came of this, however, for the ships met with stormy weather and put back to port. This dishonorable action aroused the indignation of Columbus and he refused to renew the negotiations, which now King John would have gladly done. Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to England to make proposals. Nothing came of this, for England was not at that time noted for nautical enterprise. Towards the end of 1484 Columbus left Lisbon, taking his son Diego with him. For a long time he was the guest of Alonzo de Quintanilla in Cordova. He felt that it was not the time to lay his projects before the throne, for in the early spring the king had marched away to the Moorish city of Loxa to lay siege to it, and the queen remained to take charge of Cordova and send supplies and troops to her husband. But on the 12th of June she joined her husband,



besieging Moclin, where both of them remained prosecuting the war with unceasing energy. They returned to Cordova to celebrate their victories only to be called back to the seat of war, this time at Galicia to suppress a rebellion of the Count of Lemos. Columbus, through his visit at the house of Alonzo de Quintanilla, became acquainted with the Pope's nuncio (or especial messenger), Antonio Geraldini, and his brother Alexander Geraldini, who was preceptor to the younger children of Ferdinand and Isabella. Both of these men proved influential friends, and whenever he had opportunity to speak before an audience about his proposed discoveries he was listened to with courteous attention. The wife of Columbus, Dona Felipa, died while he remained in Lisbon. Little is known of the circumstances attending her death. While in Cordova Columbus met and became attached to a beautiful woman of the nobility, Beatrix Euriquez, who, however, had unfortunately lost her fortune. This marriage with her was never made public, though his son by her, Fernando, was treated with perfect equality with Diego. Historians of later days believe that he was married to the Spanish lady. Certain it is that in his last days he grieved much for the unkindness he had shown her.

It was in the winter of 1487 that Columbus gained an audience of King Ferdinand, who called a council at Salamanca. It was held in the Dominican convent of St. Stephen, where he was treated as a distinguished guest during the examination. King Ferdinand was pleased with Columbus, but would not trust his own judgment, so he called together the most learned men

in his kingdom to listen to Columbus. Most of the wise men of the time were in the church. Indeed, these religious men were often at the head of armies. Among the men who came to confer with Columbus were professors in mathematics, in astronomy, geography and other sciences.

Before this erudite council Columbus made but a poor showing. Almost all of them came there predisposed against him. Some of them considered him an adventurer, others only a visionary. He was a poor man and belonged to no sect or society. At first, when he told of the grounds upon which he based his belief, it was only the friars of St. Stephen who would listen to him. We are told that instead of geographical objections these wise monks hurled at him citations from the Bible, the book of Genesis, the Psalms of David, the Epistles, the Gospels, and to these were added expositions of a long line of saints. Doctrinal points were mixed with philosophical discussions. Indeed, though Columbus was a devoutly religious man, he was in danger of being convicted not merely of error, but of heterodoxy. Yet Columbus had great confidence in himself—more in his God. He spoke “as one having authority.” His manner was commanding, his demeanor elevated, and he poured forth those magnificent texts of scripture and predictions of prophets which in sublime moments he felt to be descriptions of his own discoveries. He won the most learned prior, Diego de Deza, to his reasoning. This was the same Deza who afterwards became archbishop of Seville. He took a generous interest in Columbus and to his efforts were due the

winning over of many scholastic men. But there were many long and disappointing delays. Indeed, so disheartened was he that he commenced negotiations with King John II to return to Portugal. He was rewarded by an invitation to come to court and assured he would be protected from all suits of a civil or criminal nature. He also received a letter from Henry VII of England, inviting him to the country and holding out promises of encouragement.

We find, too, that the Spanish crown was also offering him allurements, for he received a large sum of gold with summons to attend the Castilian court, and the date of this memorandum is immediately after the reception of the letter from England.

In the spring of 1489 he was summoned to attend a conference of learned men in Seville. But again there was a long delay and Columbus took up arms in the interest of Spain. His career was honorable and the campaign the most glorious of the war of Grenada. Then followed the preparations, and at length the marriage of the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella to Don Alonzo, heir apparent to the throne of Portugal. So through the whole winter and spring the court was in a tumult of parade and pleasure. Nothing was to be seen at Seville but feasts and tournaments, torchlight processions and general gaiety. Poor Columbus! Surely he was a man of disappointments. He still, in a great measure, supported himself by making maps and charts. At length he determined to leave Spain. His way lay past the convent of Santa Maria de Rabida. With him was his son Diego. The child was thirsty and hungry, too, so Columbus

asked for a mouthful of bread and a little water for the child, and while he was refreshing himself the prior of the convent, Juan Perez de Marchena, happening to pass by, was interested at once in the appearance of the stranger, and observing from his air and accent that he was a foreigner, commenced conversing with him and soon knew the particulars of his life and his long-defeated hopes. The prior was a man of extensive information. He was greatly interested in the conversation of Columbus and admired the grandeur of his views. It was a remarkable occurrence in the monotonous life of the cloister to have a man of such singular merit asking for bread and water at the convent gate, and when he found that Columbus was about to visit France and ask the patronage of that court he detained Columbus, and, afraid to rely on his own judgment, he sent for a scientific friend, who conversed with Columbus at length. This friend was a physician, Garcia Fernandez, whose residence was in Palos. Fernandez was as well pleased with Columbus as had been the prior. They held many conferences, to which many celebrated mariners were invited, among them Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who was the head of a wealthy and influential family all devoted to navigation and celebrated for their adventurous expeditions.

Some of these navigators related facts which were quite in accord with the reasonings of Columbus, and his project was treated with a deference among these sea-faring men of Palos and cloistered monks quite unmet with among the scientific men of the courts.

Martin Alonzo Pinzon was so convinced of the

feasibility of his plans that he offered to engage in it with purse and person, and to bear the expense of Columbus in a further application to court.

Friar Juan Perez was confirmed in his faith by the concurrence of these learned and practical counsellors. He had once been confessor to the queen and knew that she was always accessible to persons of his sacred calling. He proposed to write to her immediately on the subject, and entreated Columbus to delay his journey until an answer could be received. Columbus was easily persuaded, for he felt that in leaving Spain he was again leaving home. By this time, too, he felt reluctant about presenting his case to a new court after the vexatious experience in Spain and Portugal.

The little council at the convent of La Rabida looked about for an ambassador to carry the message to the king and queen and chose Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe. He was considered one of the most shrewd and important personages in this maritime neighborhood. The queen was at Santa Fe, the military city built in the Vega before Grenada after the burning of the royal camp. "Sebastian Rodriguez acquitted himself faithfully, expeditiously and successfully in his embassy." So wrote Washington Irving. He readily found access to the queen and delivered to her the friar's letter. The noble Isabella had always been favorably disposed towards Columbus. She replied in a letter to Juan Perez, thanking him for his timely services, and requesting him to repair immediately to the court, assuring Christopher Columbus of her confidence in his plans. This royal letter was brought to Juan by Sebastian in fourteen days and brought

delight to the little company assembled, eagerly awaiting a message from the queen. Immediately after receiving it the kind-hearted Juan saddled his mule and departed for the court. He journeyed through the conquered country of the Moors and rode into the new city of Santa Fe, where the sovereigns were superintending the investment of the capital of Grenada.

The sacred office of Juan Perez gained him entertainment in a court distinguished for religious zeal, and once admitted to the presence of the queen his former relation as father confessor gave him great freedom of council. With great enthusiasm he plead for Columbus. He was able to speak of his honorable motive from actual knowledge and his experience and capacity to fulfill the undertaking, as well as the riches and glory it would shed upon the Spanish crown. The queen was a woman open to warm and generous impulses, and when father Juan Perez was warmly seconded by the Marchioness of Moya, to whom her majesty was deeply attached, she asked that Columbus be immediately sent to her, and bethinking herself of his poverty ordered that twenty thousand maravedies in florins should be sent to him that he might come before the court in fitting state. This sum was equal to \$216 of United States money. Speedily Columbus arrayed himself in befitting garb and purchased a mule for his journey.

“Nil desperandum” seems to have been his motto, for after all these eighteen years of continued disappointments he was full of joy and hope. We are told that he arrived in time to witness the surrender of



Grenada ; that he saw Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, come from the magnificent Alhambra and give up the keys to Spain. Many of us are accustomed to imagine Isabella and Ferdinand as dark or swarthy people. In reality they were fair people with blue eyes and light hair. From history and from portraits we learn that Ferdinand was of the middle stature, well proportioned, hardy and active from athletic exercise. He had a clear, serene forehead, which appeared more lofty from being partly bald. His eye-brows were heavy, though they did not meet. Like his hair, they were of bright chestnut color. His teeth were white, though small and irregular. His eyes were clear and animated, his speech fluent and quick. His genius was clear and comprehensive. His temper was equable, and his countenance very pleasant. Isabella possessed one of the purest characters described in history. She was well formed, of middle size, very graceful, yet withal dignified, as became a sovereign. She was very fair with clear blue eyes and auburn hair, golden in certain light. She exceeded her husband in personal dignity, in acuteness of genius and in grandeur of soul. In her were combined the active and resolute qualities of man with the softer charities of woman. She took part in the warlike councils of her husband ; engaged personally in his enterprizes, in some instances surpassing him in firmness and in the intrepidity of her measures. In the civil history of their reign the character of Isabella shines most illustriously. She loved her people and she diligently sought their good, striving to mitigate the harsher measures of her husband without apparently conflicting with his ar-

rangements. She was almost bigoted in her piety, and yet she was hostile to every measure used to further Christianity at the expense of humanity. To her honor, be it said, she strenuously opposed the expulsion of the Jews and the establishment of the inquisition. She was always an advocate of clemency to the Moors, although she was the soul of war against Grenada. She considered that war was essential to protect her subjects from fierce and formidable enemies and to protect her Christian faith. We are told that while her public life and acts were princely and august, in private life her habits were simple, frugal and unostentatious. She was a promoter of letters and arts, and through her efforts Salamanca rose to that height which it assumed among the learned institutions of the age. She promoted the distribution of honors and rewards for the promulgation of knowledge and fostered and encouraged the art of printing (lately invented), encouraging the establishment of presses in every part of her kingdom. Books were imported free of duty, and more, we are told, were printed in Spain at that early period of art than in the present literary age.

Columbus on his arrival at Cordova was at once given into the charge of his friend Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the treasury of Castile. Again patience was needed. After nearly eight hundred years of painful struggle the crescent came down and the cross was elevated: The rejoicing was great; the whole court and army held a jubilee, for this was not merely a triumph of arms, but of religion, and was the most brilliant triumph in all Spanish

history. A Spanish writer of this time gives a description of Columbus: "A man obscure and but little known followed at this time the court—confounded in the crowd of importunate applicants, feeding his imagination in the corners of the ante-chambers with the pompous project of discovering a world, melancholy and dejected in the midst of general rejoicing. He beheld with indifference and almost contempt the conclusion of a conquest which swelled all bosoms with jubilee and seemed to have reached the utmost bounds of desire. That man was Christopher Columbus."

The monarchs who had long ago pledged themselves to assist Columbus when the long struggle was over appointed persons of confidence to meet with him and make negotiations, among whom was Fernando de Talavera, now risen to be archbishop of Grenada. But at the very commencement of negotiations unexpected difficulties arose, for Columbus, believing in the grandeur of his discoveries, would listen to nothing less than princely conditions. "His principal condition was that he should be invested with the title and privilege of admiral and viceroy over the countries he should discover. The courtiers who treated with him were indignant at such a demand. Their pride was shocked to see one whom they had considered a needy adventurer aspiring to ranks and dignities superior to their own. One observed with a sneer that it was a shrewd arrangement he proposed, whereby he was secure, at all events, of a command, and had nothing to lose in case of failure."

To this Columbus promptly replied by offering to furnish one-eighth of the cost, on condition of en-

joying one-eighth of the profits. To do this he no doubt calculated on the assistance of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the wealthy navigator of Palos.

His terms, however, were pronounced inadmissible. Fernando de Talavera had always considered Columbus a dreaming speculator, or a needy applicant for bread ; but to see this man, who for years had been an indigent and threadbare solicitor in his ante-chamber, assuming so lofty a tone, and claiming an office that approached to the awful dignity of the throne, excited the astonishment as well as the indignation of the prelate. He represented to Isabella that it would be degrading to the dignity of so illustrious a crown to lavish such distinguished honor upon a nameless stranger. Such terms, he observed, in case of success, would be exorbitant ; but in case of failure would be cited with ridicule as evidence of the gross credulity of the Spanish monarchs.

Isabella was always attentive to her spiritual advisers, and the archbishop, being her confessor, had peculiar influence. His suggestions seemed to her wise, and she thought possibly she might be paying too great a price for the proposed advantages. New conditions were offered to Columbus, but he would not cede one point of his demands, and so the negotiations came to naught. And sadly taking leave of his friends he mounted his mule and sallied forth from Sante Fe in the early part of February, 1492, on his way to Cordova, and thence to France, where he intended laying his case before the court of that country. The few friends who had clung to him through all these disappointing years were filled with deep dis-

treasury. Among the number was Luis de St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Arragon. He immediately repaired to Santa Fe and obtained an immediate audience of the queen, accompanied by Alonzo de Quintanilla. The exigencies of the moment gave him courage and eloquence. He did not confine himself to entreaties, but almost mingled reproaches, expressing astonishment that a queen who had evinced the spirit to undertake so many perilous enterprises should hesitate at one where the loss could be so trifling and the gain might be incalculable. He reminded her how much might be done for the glory of God, the exaltation of the church, and the extension of her own power and dominion; what cause of regret to herself, of triumph to her enemies, of sorrow to her friends, if this enterprise, rejected by her, be accomplished by some other power. He reminded her what fame and dominion other princes had gained by their discoveries; hers was the opportunity to surpass them all. He vindicated the judgment of Columbus and the soundness and practicability of his plans. Neither would even his failure reflect discredit to the crown. It was worth the trouble and expense to clear up even a doubt upon a subject of so much importance. Many arguments he used with her, and the Marchioness of Moya, who was present, also exerted her powers of eloquence.

The generous spirit of Isabella was awakened and she seemed for the first time to comprehend the grandeur of the enterprise, and when he had fully explained to her the liberal offer of Columbus to bear one-eighth the expense and the requisites would be only

two vessels and some three thousand crowns, again the queen hesitated. The long war had drained the treasury, but the hesitation was only momentary. She declared she would undertake the enterprise for her own crown of Castile, and would pledge her jewels for funds. This act forever stamped Isabella's renown as the patroness of the discoverer of the new world. There was no need of pledging her jewels, for the money was given from the treasury of King Ferdinand and was paid back. Part of the first gold brought by Columbus from the new world was used in gilding the ceilings of the royal salon in the grand palace of Saragoza in Arragon, anciently the Aljaferia or abode of Moorish Kings.

The articles of agreement drawn up between the Spanish sovereigns and Columbus were as follows :

1. That Columbus should have, for himself during his life, and his heirs and successors forever, the office of admiral in all the lands and continents which he might discover or acquire in the ocean, with similar honors and prerogatives to those enjoyed by the high admiral of Castile in his district.

2. That he should be viceroy and governor general over all the said islands and continents, with the privilege of nominating three candidates for the government of each island or province, one of whom should be selected by the sovereigns.

3. That he should be entitled to reserve for himself one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices and all other articles and merchandises in whatever manner found, bought, bartered or gained within his admiralty, the costs being first deducted.

4. That he, or his lieutenant, should be the sole judge in all causes and disputes arising out of traffic between those countries and Spain, provided the high admiral of Castile had similar jurisdiction in his district.

5. That he might then and at all after times contribute an eighth part of the expense in fitting out vessels to sail on this enterprise, and receive an eighth part of the profits.

The capitulations were drawn up by the royal secretary, Juan de Coloma. They were signed on the 17th of April, 1492. A letter of privilege or commission to Columbus of similar purport was drawn out in form and issued in the city of Grenada by the sovereigns on the 13th of the same month. In this the dignities and prerogatives of viceroy and governor were made hereditary in the family and he and his heirs were authorized to prefix the title of Don to their names; a distinction accorded in those days only to persons of rank and estate, though it has since lost all value from being universally used in Spain. All the royal documents were signed by both Ferdinand and Isabella, but her separate crown of Castile defrayed all expenses and during her life few persons except Castilians were allowed to establish themselves in the new territories.

Perhaps it may be well here to state that stories of the Grand Khan, who was supposed to govern Asia, and whose wealth and grandeur exceeded even the most subtle flight of fancy, had reached the ears of the sovereigns of Spain and Castile, and that in the well laid plans of Columbus he calculated to sail di-

rectly to the south of Asia and at once open communications with the great magnate of the country. That he expected to do great missionary work in converting that vast heathen country to a belief in the true God and the holy Catholic church, there is not the slightest doubt. There are those who believe that King Ferdinand was more than kindly disposed to the Grand Khan. Certain it is that letters were dispatched from the king to the mighty potentate by Columbus. Isabella's motives seem, like those of Columbus, to have been to do a mighty missionary work. Columbus, however, went still further. He anticipated acquiring boundless wealth, and with it to rescue the holy sepulchres of the Jews from the infidels who possessed them. And through all the vicissitudes of life this one hope remained steadfast in his breast.

A mark of home favor was shown to Columbus by an albala or letter patent issued on the 8th of May appointing his son Diego page to Prince Juan (the heir apparent), with an allowance for his support; an honor granted only to the sons of persons of distinguished rank.

Even now when the king and queen had shown Columbus marked favors and caused a royal command to be issued ordering two caravels—as the small light boats were called—which were built high fore and aft and without a deck in the middle, with fore-castles and cabins for the accommodation of the seamen, there were still delays. The smallness of the boats was considered by Columbus as very favorable for his explorations, allowing him to examine rivers and also to keep close to the shore. It was a long



time before such boats could be found, and then they were pressed into the service, though good prices were paid in advance and large rewards offered if successful. The vessel destined for Columbus was furnished by his friends the Pinzons; it was much larger than the others and was called the Santa Maria. The second was named the Pinta and was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The third was called the Nina and had latine sails and was commanded by the third brother, Vicente Yanez Pinzon. There were three other pilots, Sancho Ruiz, Pedro Alonzo Nina and Bartolomeo Roldan. Roderigo Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, was chief alguazil. Roderigo de Escobar went as a royal notary (an officer always sent in the armaments of the crown, to take official notes of all transactions). There was also a physician and a surgeon, together with various private adventurers, several servants and ninety mariners, making in all one hundred and twenty persons.

The little fleet being quite ready for the long voyage, Columbus made confession of sins before his dear friend Friar Juan Perez and partook of the sacrament of the communion. His example was followed by both officers and crew, and we are told "they entered upon the enterprise with awe and with the most devout and affecting ceremonials."

It is quite true the seamen went with downcast hearts. They never more expected to see the glory of Spain. The wide waters were to them appalling and many strange tales of the fearful monsters of the deep

were rehearsed for the thousandth time. It was the 3rd of August, 1492, and Friday, when the fleet put out to sea from the port of Palos. Let the superstitious people who are afraid to commence any work on Friday take heart by this. Never was voyage more blessed by pleasant weather; never was so great a gift of earthly things. When Columbus sailed he commenced a journey intended for the inspection of the Spanish sovereigns. It shows how grand and solemn he felt to be the enterprise. He begins it thus: "In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi. Whereas, most Christian, most high, most excellent, and most powerful princess, king and queen of the Spains, and of the islands of the sea, our sovereigns, in the present year of 1492, after your highnesses had put an end to the war with the Moors who ruled in Europe, and had concluded that warfare in the great city of Grenada where, on the second of January, of this present year, I saw the royal banners of your highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city, and beheld the Moorish king of that city sally forth from the gates and kiss the royal hand of your highnesses and of my lord the prince; and immediately in that same month in consequence of the information which I had given to your highnesses of the lands of India, and of a prince who is called the Grand Khan, which is to say in our language king of kings, how that many times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to entreat for doctors of our holy faith, to instruct him in the same; and that the holy father had never provided him with them, and thus so many people were lost,

believing in idolatries, and imbibing doctrines of perdition ; therefore your highnesses, as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and promoters of the holy Christian faith, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see the said prince, and the people and lands, and discover the nature and disposition of them all, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our holy faith ; and ordered that I should not go by land to the east, by which it is the custom to go, but by a voyage to the west, by which course unto the present time we do not know for certain that any one has passed. Your highnesses, therefore, after having expelled all the Jews from your kingdoms and territories, commanded me in the same month of January to proceed with sufficient armament to the said parts of India ; and for this purpose bestowed great favors upon me, ennobling me, that thenceforward I might style myself Don, appointing me high admiral of the ocean sea, and perpetual viceroy and governor of all the islands and continents I should discover and gain, and which henceforward may be discovered and gained in the ocean sea ; and that my eldest son should succeed me, and so on from generation to generation forever. I departed, therefore, from the city of Grenada, on Saturday, the 12th of May of the same year 1492, to Palos, a seaport, where I armed three ships, well calculated for much service, and sailed from that port well furnished with provisions and many seamen on Friday, the third of August of the same year, half an hour before sunrise,

and took the route for the Canary Islands of your highnesses, to steer my course thence, and navigate until I should arrive at the Indies, and deliver the embassy of your highnesses to those princes and accomplish that which you had commanded. For this purpose I intend to write during this voyage, very punctually from day to day, all that I may do, and see, and experience, as will hereafter be seen. Also my sovereign princes, besides describing each night all that has occurred in the day, and in the day the navigation of the night, I propose to make a chart in which I will set down the waters and lands of the ocean sea in their proper situations under their bearings; and further, to compose a book, and illustrate the whole in picture by latitude from the equinoctial, and longitude from the west; and upon the whole it will be essential that I should forget sleep and attend closely to the navigation to accomplish these things, which will be a great labor."

As a guide by which to sail Columbus had prepared a chart, improved upon that which had been sent him by Paulo Toscanelli. Neither of them now exist, but the globe or planisphere furnished by Martin Behem in this year of the admiral's first voyage is still extant and furnishes an idea of what the chart of Columbus must have been. It exhibits the coast of Europe and Africa from the south of Ireland to the end of Guinea, and opposite to them, on the other side of the Atlantic, the extremity of Asia, or, as it was termed, India. Between them is placed the island of Cipango or Japan, which, according to Marco Polo, lay fifteen hundred miles distant from the Asiatic coast. In

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his computation Columbus advanced this island about a thousand leagues too much to the east, supposing it to be in about the situation of Florida, and at this island he hoped to arrive first. Columbus from the first had felt a lack of confidence in his crew. They had been pressed into the service against their wills. On the third day out the *Pinta* made signals of distress; her rudder was discovered to be broken and unhung. Columbus could not go to the rescue with his boat. There was a stiff breeze and his boat was much larger than the others, but fortunately Martin Alonzo Pinzon commanded the *Pinta*, and being a man of resources as well as an adroit seaman succeeded in securing the rudder with cords so as to manage the vessel for that day. The next the cord slipped and the other ships were obliged to shorten sail until the rudder could be repaired. The damaged state of the *Pinta* (she was leaking as well) determined the admiral to stop at the Canary Isles and seek a vessel to replace her.

They came in sight of the islands on the 9th, much to the surprise of the other navigators, who had reckoned on a longer time. There was no vessel to replace the *Pinta* and they were delayed three weeks in putting her in sailing order. The latine sails of the *Nina* were also altered into square sails, that she might work more steadily and securely, and be able to keep company with the other vessels. While sailing among these islands they beheld for the first time the peak of Teneriffe belching forth flame and smoke, which well nigh terrified the sailors, who were ready to fancy there was danger in everything. Columbus was fortunate in making them understand that it was

the same sort of eruption as Mt. Etna and Vesuvius.

While taking in wood and water and provisions in the island of Gomera a vessel arrived from Ferro which reported that three Portuguese caravels had been seen hovering off the island with the supposed intention of capturing Columbus in revenge for his having embarked under the arms of Spain. He therefore quickly put to sea. This was early in the morning of the 6th of September; on the 9th, at daybreak, they beheld Ferro, the last of the Canary islands, and about which the Portuguese caravels had been seen. A stiff breeze sprung up, their sails once more filled and they were soon away, so that by nightfall they could see not even the heights of Ferro. With wise discernment Columbus felt that his crews might become early despondent at the length of the voyage, so he kept two reckonings, one the true one for himself and science and one from which he subtracted many leagues daily. On the 11th of September, when about one hundred and fifty leagues west of Ferro, they fell in with a part of a mast, which from its size appeared to have belonged to a vessel of about a hundred and twenty tons burthen and which had been a long time in the water. This was looked upon by the crew as a bad omen, and it required the abundant patience of which Columbus had shown himself possessed to keep the crew in good hopes. On the 13th of September in the evening, being about two hundred leagues from the island of Ferro, Columbus for the first time noticed the variation of the needle, a phenomenon with which he was entirely unacquainted.

He saw about dusk that the needle, which had al-



ways before pointed to the north star, varied about half a point or between five and six degrees to the north-west. It seemed to him as if indeed they were entering another world subject to other laws. He at first made no mention of this, but soon the pilots discovered it for themselves. Columbus was a wise man and presently he spoke of the probability of the north star moving like other heavenly bodies. His renown as an astronomer was so great that it quieted the fears of the pilots. Still the same phenomenon is observed and the reason for it is unknown.

The Pinta with Martin Alonzo Pinzon usually kept the lead. She was a fast sailer. There was a cloudiness to the north that betokened land, there were flights of birds and the air was mild and pleasant. Many of the men became despondent only to shout with joy at the sight of clouds which so simulated islands that they were often deceived. The next day the sea was quite covered with floating plants, a phenomenon often observed in this part of the ocean. It is believed to be aquatic plants which grow in the bottom of the ocean until the seeds ripen and then the whole plant floats. These floating fields of weeds in some places made sailing difficult, and again the hearts of the mariners sank. On the 25th of September the wind again became favorable and they were able to resume their course directly to the west. The air was light and the sea calm. The vessels sailed near to each other and Columbus had opportunity to converse with his tried and true friend Martin Alonzo Pinzon, on the subject of a chart which Columbus had sent on board the Pinta three days previously. Pinzon

thought that according to the map they should be in the neighborhood of Cipango. Columbus desired the map returned and Pinzon, tying it to the end of a cord, flung it to him. Columbus and several of his navigators crowded around the map trying to make out their whereabouts, when they heard a shout from the Pinta where Martin Alonzo Pinzon was crying, "Land, land, I claim my reward." Upon this Columbus threw himself face downward upon the deck and returned thanks to God, while Martin Alonzo Pinzon recited the "Gloria in Excelsis," in which his own crew and that of the admiral joined. The seamen climbed to the rigging, the rejoicing was very great and yet it was only to be followed by a disappointment, for in the morning there was no sign of land. With dejected hearts they went about their duties. Columbus, however, wore a serene and calm face. He spoke soothingly and gently to the men. There were many fishes and strange birds about them, and the men began to fear that they had passed between islands. According to the reckoning which Columbus showed them, they had come five hundred and twenty leagues since leaving the Canary Isles; according to his private reckoning it had been seven hundred and twenty leagues. On the 2d of October evidences of land were so plentiful and the weather so beautiful that the men grew more hopeful; each was anxious to receive the pension promised to the one who saw land first, and so continually was the cry of land, land, that Columbus declared that the man who cried land, if none was discovered in three days afterward, should forever forfeit all claim to that pension.

On the evening of the 6th of October Martin Alonzo Pinzon began to lose faith in their course and suggested that they should stand more to the southward. Columbus still persisted in going directly west, which, had he continued, would have landed him in Florida. There were many reasons to veer to the south-west, which he did, and immediately signs of land abounded. Branches of trees floated by them, flights of small birds of various colors, such as sing in the fields, were seen, tunny fish played about the smooth sea. A heron, a pelican and a duck were seen, all bound in the same direction. The herbage which floated by was fresh and green and the air was sweet and fragrant, like April winds in Seville. All these were believed by the disheartened crews to be so many delusions, to draw them to destruction. They gathered together and became turbulently clamorous. They wanted to return home. Columbus attempted to pacify them with gentle assurances, but without avail. He then spoke to them decidedly. He told them it was useless to murmur. The expedition had been sent out by the sovereigns to seek the Indies, and happen what might he was determined to persevere until by the blessing of God he should accomplish the enterprise. He was now at open defiance with his crew. The situation became desperate.

The next day, fortunately, the manifestations of land were so great that all doubts were dispelled. They saw a green fish which they knew always kept about rocks. A branch of thorn with berries on it and a board floated by, then a reed and a carved staff. Gloom and mutiny vanished, sanguine expectation

kept every man at his post, hoping to be the first to discover the new land. In the evening, when the invariable custom on board the admiral's ship of singing "Salve Regina" was concluded, Columbus made an impressive address to the crew. He pointed to the goodness of God in conducting them across the perilous ocean sea by gentle breezes. There had been only tranquil waters before them. Never had the waves been mountain high. The air about them was sweet and fragrant, as if laden from orange groves. Surely they had been guided and led by the hand of Omnipotence. He thought a vigilant outlook should be kept that night, and promised a velvet doublet to the first to discover the land in addition to the pension offered by his sovereigns. In an instant every man became animated and no one slept that night. As the darkness came on Columbus took up his station on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel, maintaining an unremitting watch. About ten o'clock he thought he distinguished a light at a great distance. Fearing his eyes might deceive him, he called Pedro Gutierrez, gentleman of the bed-chamber of the king, and inquired if he saw such a light. He did. Still Columbus thought it might be a delusion, so he called Rodrigo Sanchez of Segora, but by the time he had ascended the round house the light had disappeared. Afterward they saw it again in sudden glances as though it was a torch being carried about. So transient and uncertain were these gleams that only Columbus attached importance to them.

Again it was Friday morning, October 12th, before him who had watched unceasingly the whole night.

The dawn revealed not a vanishing cloud, but a level island, many leagues in extent and like an orchard covered with trees. There were no signs of gardens or cultivated fields, but there were many inhabitants who seemed to be gazing with astonishment at the strange apparitions. These people were perfectly naked, and painted with a variety of colors. Some were painted about one eye only, some had the noses colored, and some seemed clothed in paint. They were well formed, of a coppery color, with black hair, straight, not curly. With most of them it was cut short behind the ears, but with a long lock floating down the back. Their faces were beardless. Their faces were undoubtedly handsome if not hidden by paint, and their eyes of great beauty. All possessed fine foreheads. These people seemed young, not more than thirty years of age. There was but one woman with them. She was young and of exceeding graceful form, but, like her companions, quite naked. Columbus attired himself in his scarlet court dress. His companions, Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vincent Janez, his brother, put off in company in their boats, each carrying a banner emblazoned with a green cross, having on either side the letters F. and Y. (Ferdinand and Ysabella), surrounded by crowns. These banners were made especially for the enterprise.

The beauty of the island, the transparency of the sea (for the bottom could be plainly seen), the exquisite clearness of the air and its odorous sweetness, the beauty of vegetation, all filled the heart of Columbus with boundless joy. Reverently he bent his knees and kissed the earth, returning thanks to God with tears of joy.

His example was followed by the rest. Then Columbus arose, and displaying the royal standard he assembled around him the two captains with Rodrigo de Escobedo, notary of the armament, Rodrigo Sanchez and the others who had landed. He took solemn possession in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. Having complied with the requisite forms and ceremonies, he called upon all present to take the oath of allegiance to him as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns.

And now the tide of feeling changed. The men who were almost ripe for mutiny became the most devoted of followers. They crowded around the admiral; some begged forgiveness, some besought favors. They embraced, they kissed him. Some fell at his feet. The natives from a little distance watched all this. When the morning broke and they beheld the ships in their harbor they thought them monsters of the water. The sails they took for wings. But they soon perceived that creatures like themselves, only with white faces and hands and richly clothed, were upon them. They perceived with what difference Columbus was treated, and they felt kindly drawn to him themselves. His height, his grace, his pleasant countenance and his dignity, together with his scarlet costume, all made a great impression upon them.

When the Spaniards first came upon the island with gorgeous colors and glittering steel the natives fled from them, but finding themselves unpursued they regained confidence and slowly returned and gathered

about the strangers while they took formal possession of the island. After this they came timidly and touched the Spaniards—their white faces and hands, their clothing. Columbus was pleased with their gentleness and he bore their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence and won them by his benignity. As he supposed he was on an island adjacent to India, he called the people Indians—a name which has since been applied to all aboriginals in the new world. The arms of the islanders were lances with ends hardened by fire or pointed with flint or the teeth or bone of a fish. There was no iron to be seen, and it was evident they knew nothing of it, for when a drawn sword was presented they seized the sharp edge. Columbus gave them presents of colored caps, glass beads, hawks' bells and other trifles, such as the Portuguese were accustomed to trade with among the nations of the gold coast of Africa. The presents were eagerly received. They hung the beads about their necks and were delighted with the tinkling of the hawks' bells. All day the Spaniards remained on shore, refreshing themselves in the beautiful groves, and returning to the ships late in the evening delighted with what they had seen. The next morning, when day broke, the shore was alive with natives, who immediately got into boats called canoes, made from the body of a tree hollowed out till it would hold fifty men. These canoes were propelled by paddles, and they were very dexterous in their use. If a boat capsized they swam as if water was their native element, and uprighting the boat baled it out with calabashes. These were the product of great trees like elms.

The Indians were eager to procure more toys and brought objects to barter for them, domesticated parrots, cotton yarn in great balls weighing twenty-five pounds, to be exchanged for the merest trifle. They brought also cakes of a bread they called cassava. It was made from the root of the yucca, grated or scraped and strained in a press, making a broad, thin cake which was dried hard so it would keep for a long time, and which they steeped in water before eating. It was tasteless, but nourishing; but if the water strained from it was drank it was death.

The discoverers were excited to avarice at the sight of the small gold ornaments worn by some of the Indians in their noses. They were asked where it was found, and the reply pointed to the south. But as gold was an object of royal monopoly in all enterprises of discovery Columbus forbade any traffic in it without his express sanction, reserving all trade in both gold and cotton to the crown wherever it should be found in any quantity. He understood from the natives that in the south gold was so plentiful as to be made into plates on which the king's food was served. They showed him scars, marks of wounds in encounters with these people, whose countries they invaded for gold and precious stones.

It is not improbable that much of this intelligence was the result of Columbus' fancy. His imagination was very active and now all things to him were rose colored. He persuaded himself that he was among the islands spoken of by Marco Polo as lying opposite Cathay, in the Chinese sea, and he construed everything to accord with these wealthy regions. The



enemies the natives spoke of coming from the northwest he thought must be the people of the continent of Asia, subjects of the Grand Khan of Tartary. He had been misled in this by the Venetian traveller who represented the Grand Kahn as accustomed to make war on surrounding islands, carrying off their riches and enslaving their inhabitants. The country to the south abounding in gold could be only the famous Cipango, and the king whom they described as eating from golden dishes must be he whom Marco Polo described, even the roof of whose habitation was of plates of gold.

The natives called this island upon which Columbus first set foot "Guanahani." It is still called San Salvador on the maps, though English seamen call it Cat Island. San Salvador is one of the great cluster of Bahama or Lucayos Islands which stretch from the coast of Florida to Hispaniola, covering the northern coast of Cuba.

On the morning of the 14th the admiral set off at daybreak with the ship's boats to reconnoitre the island, directing his course north-east. The coast was surrounded by a reef of rocks, but within these was a harbor of sufficient depth and size to hold all the ships of the known world. The entrance was narrow and there were several sand banks, but the water was still as a pool. The island was well wooded. It contained a large lake in the center and streams of sweet water. They passed a few villages, the inhabitants of which ran out and prostrated themselves either in giving thanks to heaven or in worship of these white men, who appeared to them supernatural creatures.

They ran along the shore offering to the boatmen various fruits and vessels of water. When the vessels still continued on their course many threw themselves into the sea and followed them, others came in canoes. The admiral received them kindly, giving them presents of beads and other trifles, which they received with great delight, for they thought their visitors were from heaven. At length they came to a place that nature seemed to have made for a fortress. On it were six Indian cabins surrounded by gardens and groves as beautiful as those of Castile. The sailors being wearied by long rowing and the island not seeming to the admiral worthy of colonization, he returned to the ship, taking seven natives with him that they might acquire the Spanish language and serve as interpreters. Having supplied the boats with wood and water, they sailed from the island of San Salvador, hoping soon to reach the famous Cipango. He had no doubt but that he was among the islands studding the sea of China. According to Marco Polo these were seven or eight thousand in number and they abounded with all manner of precious stones, gold, silver and spices. He selected the largest island in sight and he believed the natives told him that the people of the island wore necklets and bracelets of gold, and other ornaments of the precious metal. But again he was doomed to disappointment. The trees and shrubs were the most beautiful he had ever seen and the odor from abundant flowers so sweet the air was like a taste of heaven. They went on shore and took formal possession, naming the island Santa Maria de la Conception. The Indians were simple-minded like

those they had already met and took them for heavenly visitants. Columbus with his gentle courtesy impressed them favorably and he gave to them the trifles which they received with delight. In returning to the boats they came across a solitary canoe man. He was evidently going to notify adjoining islanders of the approach of the ships, so Columbus took him on board and treated him with the utmost kindness. The sea about these islands was so clear that, looking down, all manner of beautiful things were to be seen—shells of exquisite shape, fish of colors to rival humming birds, and seaweeds of gorgeous colors—but so deep that at the distance of two gun shot there was no anchorage. The next morning the canoe of the Indian was hoisted overboard, his effects were given to him again and he went his way rejoicing. Many little kindnesses were thus shown the islanders by Columbus. All who came on board were given bread and honey or sugar to eat. To this island he gave the name of Fernandina. Now it is known as Exuma. The habitations were constructed like a conical tent. They were made of branches of trees, of reeds and of palm leaves. They were uniformly clean and neat. The beds were of cotton and hung from side to side and were called “hamacs.” The people seemed more intelligent and ingenious than their neighbors, and the women had aprons and mantlets of cotton, but these were not universal, and for the most part they were unclothed. In an attempt to circumnavigate the island Columbus found within two leagues of the north-west cape a noble harbor, sufficient to hold a hundred ships and supplied with two entrances formed by an island

lying in the mouth of the harbor. There, while the men landed in search of water, he sat down in a grove to meditate on the wonders and the beauties of God's handiwork. The natives kindly assisted his men to the sweetest waters. They filled their casks and assisted in rolling them to the coast, but Columbus saw nothing of the mighty king or evidences of the expected gold mine, so they again spread sails, leaving Fernandina on the 19th of October. They steered to the south-west in quest of an island called Saometo. Again they were doomed to disappointment. The climate was exquisite, the scenery sublime, the natives kind and gentle, but there was *no gold*. To this beautiful island he gave the name of Isabella. Of it he writes: "As I arrived at this cape there came a fragrance so good and soft of the flowers and trees of the land, that it was the sweetest thing in the world. I believe there are here many herbs and trees which would be of great price in Spain for tinctures, medicines and spices, but I know nothing of them, which gives me great concern."

There were no animals in these islands save a kind of dumb dog (at least he never barked), and a rabbit, lizards and guanas, or igunas, as they are now called. To the seamen they were dreadful monsters, but the natives found them harmless and good for food. For several days Columbus hovered about this island, hoping to see the monarch. At length he was convinced that he had been misinformed or had misunderstood the natives.

Now he began to hear of an island called Cuba. From the natives he understood it to be of great

extent, abounding in gold and pearls and precious stones and spices, and that great ships carried on a trade with it. He accordingly laid his plans to visit Cuba and Bohio. His sojourn would depend upon the quantities of gold and other precious articles he should find there. He was quite sure that it would take only about ten days' sailing to reach the main land of India, where he would at once seek the great city of Quinsai and deliver in person the letters from his sovereign to the Grand Khan.

But contrary winds and calms and heavy showers (for it was now the rainy season) delayed his departure several days. At midnight on October 24th he set sail, but was becalmed until midday, when a gentle breeze sprang up and, to quote his own words, "began to blow most amorously." All sails were spread and after three days, touching in his course a group of islands which he called "Islas de Arena," he came in sight of Cuba on the 28th of October.

It is believed that the part which he first discovered is the coast to the west of Neuvitas del Principo. As he neared the island he was overcome with its magnitude, its grandeur, its lofty mountains, sweeping plains, noble rivers, promontories and stretching headlands. Over all was the beautifully clear and fragrant atmosphere, and he anchored in a broad river whose deep bottom could plainly be seen. He took possession of the island, calling it Juana, and named the river San Salvador. Two boats manned by natives started out to meet him, but were frightened back when they observed them sounding the river for anchorage, and reaching the shore fled into the in-

terior. Columbus and some followers examined their cabins, but disturbing nothing again went to the river and sailed up. The views were most beautiful, and Columbus, who highly appreciated the beauties of nature, was delighted beyond measure at the enchanting prospect. Probably nowhere in the world is more beautiful and greater diversity of scenery. The splendor of colors, of flowers, birds, butterflies, fish and shells are unequalled; even the insects are of such beauty that many a West Indian belle wears one or more of them in her dusky hair, because they are more beautiful than gems. The forests abound with gorgeously plumed birds; flocks of parrots (or parroquets) obscured the sun, and these, unlike their gray cousins of Africa, wore many brilliant hues. Green, yellow, blue and scarlet were often on the same bird, while butterflies and humming birds were clothed in raiment like unto nothing but precious stones of the greatest brilliancy. He thought he had conclusive proof that Cuba contained gold mines, spice groves, and that its shores abounded with pearls, as he found the shells of oyster-bearing pearls along the shores. In some places the grass grew quite down to the water's edge without the intervening strip of sand. It is a singular fact that the hurricanes so common as to work great devastation on the Bahamas seldom visit Cuba, and to Columbus it seemed that the very elements were charmed into gentleness as they approached this beautiful spot. After sailing to the north-west for some distance, they came in sight of a great headland, to which he gave the name of Cape of Palms from the trees which covered it. It is now known as the

entrance to Laguna de Moron. There three of the natives of Guanahani, who were on board the Pinta, informed the commander, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, that behind the Cape of Palms there was a river, and four days' journey up the river would bring them to Cubanacan, where there was much gold. By this they designated a place in the center of the island, *nacan* in their dialect signifying center. Pinzon had carefully studied the map of Toscanelli and he fully believed in Columbus' views that this was near—nay really—terra firma; that the city of which the Indians spoke was that of the residence of Cubal Khan. He immediately sought and communicated his ideas to Columbus. This at once put an end to the delusions under which the admiral had kept himself, but he substituted another. He conceded that he had been mistaken in thinking the island was Cipango and was now of the opinion that he was in Asia. He resolved at once to seek the river and send forward a messenger bearing a present to the potentate of the country, which probably bore allegiance to the Grand Khan, and after visiting his dominions he would set out for the capital of Cathay, where the Grand Khan resided. But he could not reach the river. Cape stretched beyond cape; there was no anchorage, and the wind became contrary. The heavens threatened storms, and so they put back to the Rio de los Mares.

On the 1st of November he sent boats ashore, but the inhabitants fleeing before his men, he supposed they mistook his little fleet for one of the scouring expeditions sent out by the Grand Kahn to make prisoners and slaves. He sent a boat on shore again,

carrying an Indian interpreter who was instructed to assure the people of the peaceable and beneficent intentions of the Spaniards, and that they had no connection with the Grand Kahn. After the Indian had proclaimed this from the boat he sprang into the water and swam to the shore. He was well received and so successful in calming their fears that before eventide there were more than sixteen canoes about the ships offering cotton yarn and other simple wares in traffic. Columbus forbade all traffic except for gold, that the natives might be tempted to produce the real riches of the country. They had none to offer; but one man wore a metal ornament and his was a silver nose ring. Columbus understood this man to say that the king lived four days' journey in the interior and that messengers had been already dispatched to him bearing news of the visitors, and that in three days' time messengers would arrive from the king, as well as merchants from the interior to trade with the ships. Very anxious poor Columbus was by this time, so he dispatched two Spaniards, Rodrigo de Jerez and Luis de Torres, the latter a converted Jew, who spoke both Hebrew and Chaldaic and a little Arabic. One or the other of these languages Columbus supposed would be understood by the prince.

But we have no space to tell more of the illusions of this extraordinary man. Suffice it to say that some time between the 6th and 12th Hispaniola was discovered. A cross was erected with due solemnities. Here he again heard of a wonderful city with much gold. The city was found to consist of a thousand houses, but there was little gold. A cross was erected



in the middle of the city, the natives assisting in the erection. Then he took sail again for the *illusive* kingdom. He visited many islands, always treating the natives with kindness. He experienced only kindness in return.

On Christmas eve, by the carelessness of the helmsman (a mere boy, in direct opposition to the admiral's orders that the boys should on no account have charge of the ship), the boat was driven on a reef and finally lost. The crew was saved and, thanks to the commander, or cacique, as he was called by the Indians, all the cargo was unloaded and safely put upon the shore and carefully guarded by forces under command of the [cacique, until houses could be built in which they might be deposited. Never were shipwrecked people treated with greater kindness. On the 26th of December Guacanagari came on board the caravel Nina to visit the admiral, and finding him despondent was himself moved to tears. He entreated him not to be cast down and offered him anything and everything in his possessions that might be of use to him. The sailors who came from the shore brought tales of great lumps of gold offered for barter at almost no price. There was said to be a mountain only a little distance away where the gold was dug without trouble. The place was really a mountainous one, and years afterwards yielded rich mines. It was called Cibao, and Columbus confounded it with Cipango. The greatest of kindness and many valuable presents were given by this noble Indian to Columbus and his followers. They were entertained on shore and everything that could add to their happiness was done.

Columbus distributed toys and gewgaws, which pleased the simple-minded natives beyond measure. One brought a handful of gold dust which he offered for a hawk's bell, and when he had received it fled away to the woods, often looking back as if he feared the Spaniards would repent and take it from him. The kindness of the natives, the beauty of the country, the absence of toil was looked upon so favorably by many seamen that they spoke to Columbus of remaining, as the caravels would be so crowded on the return voyage. So Columbus concluded to settle a colony. The fortress could be constructed from the dismantled ship. The colonists could explore the country, could learn where the mines were situated, and could barter for gold. They could become familiar with the manners and usages of the islanders, which would be of great value later. Guacanagari was delighted that part of the men would remain, for they had promised to assist them in defense from their enemies, the Caribs. While the fortress was in point of construction Columbus had word of a large vessel seen at the eastern end of the harbor. He thought at once it must be the *Pinta*, which had now been missing for some time, but messengers dispatched in search of it could not find it. For a time despondency seized him, for the peril of the return was very great with only the crazy old vessel between him and destruction; and again he was elated with the discoveries that each day brought forth. It took ten days to construct the fortress. The guns were mounted and ammunition stored safely. Thirty-nine men were selected to remain, among them men of all trades. The command

was given to Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova and notary and alguazil to the armament. In case of his death Pedro Gutierrez, and in case of his also Rodrigo de Escobedo were to rule.

Columbus assembled the colony and earnestly addressed them, giving them wise counsels. He had a volley fired from the guns, to show the inhabitants what a defense they would prove against the Caribs. A sad parting took place between the Spaniards who were to remain, and probably an equally sad one among the Indians who were to leave their country for a sojourn in Spain.

It was on the 4th of January, 1493, that Columbus sailed from La Navidad on his return. They had weathered the cape only about ten leagues when the lost Pinta appeared sailing directly towards them. Every heart was overjoyed. When the winds allowed them to meet, Pinzon excused his desertion by stress of weather. Columbus listened passively, but dubiously. He had been told that Pinzon's cupidity had been excited by stories of a land to the eastward filled with gold. His vessel was by far the fastest sailer and he had sought the golden region. Together they returned to Spain, stopping for wood and water at a river where gold could be seen in the sand. Columbus named it Rio del Oro, now known as Santiago.

After many vicissitudes Columbus reached Palos. His triumphant return was a great event. The bells were rung, business was stopped and tumultuous joy reigned, and when he landed a procession was formed to the largest church, there to return thanks to God.

Nearly every sailor on board these ships had relatives and personal friends in the city. Columbus dispatched a letter to the sovereigns and soon afterwards went to Seville to await their orders, taking with him six of the aborigines (three were sick at Palos and one had died at sea).

It is quite true that on the very evening the grand reception to Columbus was being held in Palos the Pinta entered the river. Pinzon's ship had been so driven about that he supposed the wretched Nina was lost, and he had written to the sovereigns giving information of the discovery *he* had made, and asking permission to come before the court and communicate the particulars. But his heart died within him when he heard the peals of thanksgiving. He feared to meet Columbus lest he have him arrested for desertion. He landed from a small boat, and kept out of sight, until Columbus was on his way to Seville. He received a reply from his sovereigns reproaching him for misconduct, and forbidding his appearance at court. He suffered deeply from chagrin and soon died. He was a brave man and possessed many virtues. Let us forget his errors. Columbus was royally welcomed at Barcelona, receiving the highest attention, and yet *no one* fully understood the value of his achievement. With regard to the papal bull of partition and the diplomatic negotiations between Spain and Portugal, we have no space here to mention them.

Columbus returned to the New World about the 3rd or 4th of September. They landed at the island of Gaudaloupe. After many adventures among these islands, Columbus sailed to Navidad on the 27th.

Very bad news he received. Some of the Spaniards were dead, some had taken Indian wives and were living in a distant part of the island. There had been a great battle, in which many lives had been destroyed and the good Guacanagari had been badly wounded. Afterwards Columbus had reason to think that the *good* Guacanagari was "no better than he ought to be." The first Christian city of the New World was named Isabella. The harbor was about ten leagues east of Monte Christo. A malaria prevailed in the new city, and the admiral was not exempt from the illness. Then there was much discontent. The ships set sail for Spain about the middle of February. There was much trouble among the settlers, and poor Columbus must have had good reason to know that a "ruler's life is not exempt from trials and hardships." He traveled into the interior and was well pleased with his expedition. He afterwards went by water and discovered the island of Jamaica. He managed the affairs entrusted to him wisely and well. But as there are ever persons who look malignantly on those of superior attainments, Columbus was a bright and shining light for arrows of envy. Vexations and trouble were all around him. Once he was sent from the New World to Spain in irons; he was at once released, however, for there was not a shadow of evidence against him. But his admiralty was never restored to him.

Broken by age and infirmities, and worn out with contentions and hardships, Columbus looked forward to Seville as a haven of rest. Ever since he had been sent home in chains he had not received his revenues.

He required a large income to meet his expenditures, and very great amounts were due him, so that in very shame he wrote to his son complaining of his pecuniary troubles. He said, "I live by borrowing." It was not for himself he complained, but for his seamen, who had not been paid for three years.

The death of Queen Isabella was a severe blow to him, and the subsequent treatment of his appeals for justice by King Ferdinand no doubt hastened his death. Broken in spirit and suffering violently in body, he was always patient and thoughtful for all, even remembering in his will some things so small that it is evident he was careful to be more than honest in the smallest particulars. In his discoveries he looked not so much for wealth for himself as a good situation for colonists. He examined the rivers and the productiveness of the earth. That he possessed the soul of a poet and artist none who read his descriptions can doubt. He died May 20th, 1506. It was Ascension Day, and his last words were: "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*" (Into thy hands, oh, Lord, I commend my spirit). His body was interred in the convent of St. Francisco, but in the year 1536 the bodies of Columbus and his son Diego were removed to Hispaniola and interred in the principal chapel of the cathedral in the city of San Domingo. Later they were disinterred and lie now in Havana, Cuba. In searching the histories of earth's noblemen it will be difficult to find a more lovely character than that of Columbus, and it is a fitting tribute at this late day that his name is familiar to every American, old and young.

## COLUMBUS.

Behind him lay the gray Azores,  
Behind the gates of Hercules;  
Before him not the ghost of shores,  
Before him only shoreless seas.  
The good mate said: "Now we must pray,  
For lo! the very stars are gone,  
Brave Adm'rl, speak; what shall I say?"  
"Why, say, 'Sail on! sail on! and on!'"

"My men grow mutinous day by day;  
My men grow ghastly, wan and weak,"  
The stout mate thought of home; a spray  
Of salt wave washed his swarthy cheek.  
"What shall I say, brave Adm'rl, say,  
If we sight naught but seas at dawn?"  
"Why, you shall say at break of day,  
'Sail on! sail on! sail on! and on!'"

They sailed and sailed as winds might blow,  
Until at last the blanched mate said:  
"Why, now not even God would know  
Should I and all my men fall dead.  
These very winds forget their way,  
For God from these dread seas is gone.  
Now speak, brave Adm'rl, speak and say."  
He said: "Sail on! sail on! and on!"

They sailed. They sailed. Then spoke the mate:  
"This mad sea shows its teeth to-night.  
He curls his lip, he lies in wait,  
With lifted teeth, as if to bite!  
Brave Adm'rl, say but one good word.  
What shall we do when hope is gone?"  
The words leapt as a leaping sword;  
"Sail on! sail on! sail on! and on!"

Then pale and worn, he kept his deck,  
And peered through darkness. Ah, that night—  
Of all dark nights! And then a speck—  
A light! A light! A light! A light!  
It grew, a star-lit flag unfurled!  
It grew, to be time's burst of dawn.  
He gained a world; he gave that world  
Its grandest lesson: "On! and on!"

## CHAPTER III.

### AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

**I**N the year 1499, seven years after the discovery of America by Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine navigator, sailed to the eastern coast of South America. That his explorations there were of any moment history does not state. Vespucci knew that it was a *new world*, and not a part of Asia, as Columbus thought, and so the name of the world was called America. But, after all, the honor is an empty one, for in all these years the story has been handed down from generation to generation that Christopher Columbus was the rightful discoverer, and while in this year of A. D. 1892 all school children are taught the life and discoveries of Columbus, and in almost every church in the land Columbian services in honor of this long dead hero are held, no reference is made to the man who usurped the title of discoverer. Amerigo Vespucci was born in Florence, A. D. 1451. He received a liberal education, and was sent by his father to Spain on mercantile business. He was at Seville when Columbus was making preparations for his fourth voyage, and he sailed under Alonzo de Ojeda. After Vespucci returned to Portugal he published a book pretending that he had visited America previous to Columbus, but he offered no proofs to substantiate his word. Moreover diligent inquiry failed to find any corroborating evidence, and he lost the respect of the populace. He died at Seville February 22d, 1512.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES.

THAT the aborigines were descendants of the inhabitants of the eastern world has been a favorite theory with many thinking men of all periods in the past four hundred years. There have been books and papers published by the hundred to prove that the red men were the ten lost tribes of Israel, that they were the descendants of Kamtchatkans, and very many other theories. In the ruins of ancient Peru there is a marked resemblance in sculpture to that of Egypt. There are traditions among many of the tribes that apparently support the theory of the lost Israelites. But there are no facts to substantiate any such theory. In Central America and Peru civilization had reached a high degree, but the glories had waned before the advent of the white man. That in the Mississippi valley there had existed a race of people now known as the mound builders, who were far above the red men of the fourteenth century, there is abundant evidence. Fort Ancient in southern Ohio, some forty miles south-east of Cincinnati, encloses one hundred and forty acres and would be almost impregnable from any side. It was well supplied with never-failing springs of water, and crops sufficient to maintain the fortress in time of siege could be grown inside its defenses. There are many other forts in Ohio now to be seen, and the mounds are so arranged that, through the southern part of the State at least,

signal fires could be lit upon them and news could be communicated in a very short space of time over a great area of country. These mounds are constructed in regular order, and at about the same distance (two miles apart). The contents of the mounds show skeletons of remarkable size, fragments of pottery, large stone celts, spear heads of yellow flint and ashes.

The Serpent Mound in Adams county, Ohio, represents a serpent one thousand feet long in the act of swallowing an egg one hundred and sixty-five feet long. Some great mounds were the bases of watch towers or signal stations.

The red Indians belong to the Ganowarian or bow and arrow family of men. Above the sixth parallel of latitude the entire continent from Labrador to Alaska was inhabited by the Esquimaux.

The name signifies *the eaters of raw meat*. They live in hovels, partly underground, roofed with ice and snow. Occasionally they have huts constructed out of the bones of whales and walruses. In winter they are clad with the skins of seals, in summer with those of the reindeer. Their food is principally whale blubber and the meat of bears. They have dogs trained to draw sledges, which, aside from canoes only used in their short summer, is their only means of transportation. In the center of the ice hut a little fire of whale blubber is kept alive. There is no chimney, so the hut and its inhabitants are well smoked. A suit of clothes is worn (without change or process of cleaning) until worn out. While few in numbers, they are the most widely spread nation on the earth, according to Mr. Gallatin occupying not

less than 5,400 miles of coast. The Moravian Mission in Greenland has succeeded in converting many of them to Christianity, and they are represented by the missionaries to be a wild and teachable people, easily led by kindness to distinguish between right and wrong, but incorrigibly dishonest and prone to lying with strangers.

Lying north of the Esquimaux, embracing the greater part of Canada and nearly all the portion or the United States east of Mississippi, and north of the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, lived the great family of the Algonquins. The tribes of this family were nomadic, roaming from hunting ground to hunting ground and river to river, for they lived by hunting and fishing. Agriculture, though not unknown, was not esteemed by them. There were many tribes of this family subservient to a great chief. These people were already in a decline. When discovered by Europeans whole tribes were destroyed by wasting diseases.

The powerful Huron Iroquois were a part of the Algonquin tribe. Their domain was from the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron to Lakes Erie and Ontario, south of these lakes to the upper Ohio and west to the river Sorrel. There was a confederacy of tribes in this large district. Generally, though not always, they acted in unison in times of war. At the time of their greatest power there were nine allied nations—the Hurons, living north of Lake Erie; the Eries and Andaster, south of the lake; the Tuscorias of Carolina, who afterwards joined their kinsmen in the north; the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks, constituting the famous five nations

of New York. The warriors of these nations were the most noble of the great red men. They were brave, patriotic, and eloquent; they lived in respectable villages and tilled the soil with considerable success. As friends they were faithful, as enemies fearful.

The Cherokees occupied Tennessee. For a primitive nation they were highly civilized and unlike many other tribes. Contact with the whites seemed to improve rather than to degrade them.

The Mobilians occupied the country between the lower Mississippi and the Atlantic. The principal tribes of the Mobilians were the Yamassees and Creeks of Georgia, the Seminoles of Florida, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws of Mississippi. West of the mighty Mississippi was the great race of the Dakotas, whose territory extended from the Arkansas river to the land of the Esquimaux and westward to the Rocky Mountains. The languages and institutions of this people, differing much among the various tribes, are not so well understood as those of some other nations.

South of the land of the Dakotas in a district nearly corresponding with Texas dwelt the wild Comanches, fierce and warlike.

On the western side of the Rocky Mountains was the great family of the Shoshones, the Selish, the Klamaths and the California.

On the Pacific slope further southward had dwelt the Aztecs and Toltecs. These were the most highly civilized of the primitive nations, but also the most feeble. Their constructions of wood and stone were in advance of any other tribes, but they were a peaceful people, little used to the strategies of war.

## CHAPTER V.

### INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS.

**W**ITH the exception of the Esquimaux, all Indians have the same physical characteristics : a square head, low broad forehead, full face and powerful jaws, prominent cheek bones, full lips, dark and deeply-set eyes, hair long and wavy ; little or no beard, or where it does appear carefully pulled out with the tweezers ; color of the skin varying from almost white through yellow and copper color to brown and nearly black ; height of the men about the average, figures erect and slender ; hands and feet of both sexes are small and shapely. The women are comparatively short, and as age approaches inclined to obesity.

The flat-headed Selish Indians inhabited the region between latitude forty-eight and fifty degrees north and longitude one hundred and seventeen and one hundred and twenty-one degrees west. The peculiar shape of their heads was due to a practice in infancy of fastening a great weight upon the forehead. This does not appear to diminish the cranial capacity of the volume of the brain. This tribe was inferior in appearance to the ordinary Indians. They were short of stature and ill-formed. The practice of flattening the head has fallen into disuse.

The Indians were a race of stoics, like the Spartans. The children were taught to give no sign of pain, suffering or hunger. Many of them possessed great

oratorical powers. Specimens of oratory are given by Abbott in his interesting history of Ohio. Law-augqua, Pontiac, Logan, Corn Planter, Tecumseh, Buckonghelas, White Eyes, Chieftain Pipe, and the speeches of many other chieftains are reported. In spite of the modern saying that "the only good Indian is the dead Indian," no one who carefully studies the early history of this continent can fail to do honor to the noble red man. The faculties of sight and hearing, of swift and silent movement, of long endurance are developed in the North American Indians in a remarkable degree.

For several years past there have been many articles published in different magazines and journals in favor of a common kitchen for a great number of families. Among the Iroquois there were many "long houses" where twenty families were fed from the same kettle of corn and beans."

The agricultural implements of the Indians were awkward in the extreme. When the forest was so dense that the sun could not reach the earth, they bruised the bark of the trees near the ground and then exposing the roots by means of rude plows, made sometimes from the shoulder blade of the moose, they made fires so as to scorch the roots. This caused the death of the lower and smaller limbs, letting the sunlight reach the earth. Then they gathered all the dead wood and burned it till the ashes were from six inches to a foot deep. Then ashes and soil were mixed as intimately as they could be with the rough hoes, and the corn planted in hills. Some authorities assert that many tribes planted corn (several grains)







in an alewife or a horse shoe crab, and that in the hill, drawing the earth up around the corn as it grew till the hills were as much as two feet in height. As the corn grew peas or beans were planted and the vines twined around the stalks; later, pumpkins and an inferior sort of melon called macocks. Sun flowers were cultivated and made into a sort of bread. Just before the corn was ripe the ears were pulled, the seed corn was selected from the largest and best ears, and hung up to dry in the wigwams. The rest was dried in the husk or over smouldering fires, after which it was husked by the young men and maidens, and there were as many kisses over red ears as there have been since in New England husking bees. When the corn was nicely dried it was put in birch bark boxes and hidden by the women in places dug in the ground, lined with birch bark to keep out the moisture. Many Indian warriors were lazy in winter time and if they could find nothing to eat they were compelled to hunt deer, moose or elk. So the squaws grew adept in their concealment of the winter granaries. But the hogs of the white men were wiser in the hunt for hidden grains, and it is said that the uprooting of one of these barns near Truro saved the pilgrims from starvation, as their store was reduced to a few kernels of corn for each individual. Corn well dried and cracked in a mortar and long boiled was called o-mo-nee; when it was pounded into a coarse meal by the squaws, and sifted through a basket for ash cakes, sup-pawn. Ash cakes were of sup-pawn, salted and stirred up with water, and spread upon smooth flat stones, or thin slabs of wood and set before the blazing fire to bake.

When the Indians could not procure salt from licks or the sea they burned the bones of birds, which made a tolerable substitute. The aborigines also made a dish called mu-si-quatash. It was composed of corn and beans, fish and game. In summer the corn and beans and perhaps the meat or fish would be fresh. In winter it would be dried. Sometimes acorns, artichokes, ground nuts, pumpkins and squashes would be cooked together. At all events this simple cookery is far above that of the Kighis, who boil lambs or goats and serve them without disemboweling them.

Humboldt mentions that potatoes were common from Chili to New Grenada. That they were grown in Virginia, as was the tobacco plant, we know because plants were sent to Ireland by a colony of Sir Walter Raleigh's, but both of these plants had been imported long before from South America to Spain.

## CHAPTER VI.

### LATER DISCOVERERS OF AMERICA.

**T**HE following is a condensation of the most important discoveries, by whom they were made and the time of their discovery.

1497—June 24th, Newfoundland was discovered by John Cabot, who coasted along the shores to Florida.

1498—May 30th, Columbus discovered the main land. Hitherto he had discovered and taken possession of islands only.

1500—Cabral, a Portuguese, visited the coast of Brazil and discovered the mouth of the Amazon. It was colonized before 1515 in all probability. In 1500 Cortereal touched at Labrador.

1508—Vincent Pinzon entered the Rio de la Plata. It was in this same year that the Spaniards, finding the Indians not strong enough for the labor of mining, imported slaves from Guinea, and laid the foundation for a traffic that disgraced the civilization of Europe for three centuries.

1511—Diego Columbus, son of the admiral, Christopher Columbus, conquered the island of Cuba with three hundred soldiers and lost not a man.

1513—Balboa crossed the isthmus of Darien with 290 men and discovered the South Sea.

1519—Hernando Cortez sailed from Cuba with eleven ships and 550 men. He landed on the coast of Mexico, which had been discovered the previous year.

The conquest of Mexico was concluded in 1521 by 950 Spaniards assisted by an army of Indians from Tlascala.

1531—Peru was invaded by Pizarro and conquered in less than a year with a force of 1,000 men.

1535—Mendoza, a Spaniard with 2,000 followers, invaded Buenos Ayres and conquered the country as far as Potosi, where the silver mines were discovered nine years later.

1537—Cortez discovers California.

1541—Chili conquered, Santiago founded. Orellana sails from the sources of the Rio Napo down the Amazon to the Atlantic.

1578—New Albion, on the north-west coast of America, discovered by Sir Francis Drake.

1586—The Spaniards founded St. Thomas island in Guiana.

1587—Davis Strait and Cumberland Islands discovered by John Davis.

1604—De Monts, a Frenchman, founded the settlement known as Acadia—afterwards Nova Scotia.

1607—The first permanent English settlement on the James River in Virginia.

1608—Quebec founded by the French, who had a small neglected colony in Canada from 1542.

1611—Newfoundland colonized by the English; a Dutch colony established at Hudson's River.

1614—New York founded.

1618—Baffin penetrates to the seventy-eighth degree of latitude in the bay which bears his name.

1620—The first English colony established at Plymouth. In this year the first negroes were imported

into Virginia. They were brought by a Dutch vessel.

1635—A French colony established in Guiana.

1655—Jamaica conquered by the English.

1664—The Dutch colonies on Hudson River capitulate to the English.

1666—The buccaneers begin their depredations on Spanish colonies.

1682—William Penn established a colony in Pennsylvania. La Salle takes possession of Louisiana in the name of the king of France.

1698—A colony of 1,200 Scots planted at Darien. The next year it was attacked by Spaniards and abandoned.

1733—Georgia colonized by the English.

1760—Canada and the other French settlements conquered by the English.

## CHAPTER VII.

### EARLY COLONIES AMONG THE SPANISH.

**I**N less than ten years after the death of Columbus all the principal West India islands were explored and colonized. In 1510 the Spaniards colonized the Isthmus of Darien and three years later the governor, Vasco Nanez de Balboa, hearing from the natives that another ocean was on the western side, crossed the Isthmus and from an eminence looked down upon the Pacific. Not content with gazing, however, he got down to the water's edge and wading out as deep as he dared go he took formal possession of the ocean in the name of the king of Spain.

Ponce de Leon, who had been a companion of Columbus in his second voyage, was now growing old. He was rich and he wanted to live. The Indians told of a fountain in the Bahamas wherein those who bathed renewed their youth. And so the aged cavalier, wrinkled and yellow, started on the long and never-ending search, but the fountain of perpetual youth was as illusive to him as had been the kingdom of the Grand Khan to Admiral Columbus. It was the year 1512 when Ponce de Leon started in search of the fountain. He set sail from Porto Rico, and, stopping first at San Salvador and the neighboring islands, he came on Easter Sunday, which fell that year on the 27th of March, in sight of an unknown shore. He supposed it, of course, to be an island, though it was

the most beautiful he had seen. The skies were of the bluest, the water the clearest, there was great variety in the vegetation, the trees were lofty and magnificent, the earth was covered with gorgeous blossoms, and the balmy air was fragrant with odorous jessamine. Birds of splendid plumage equalled only by the blossoms in brilliancy of coloring were everywhere, while the song birds of quieter hues filled the air with sweet music. He called the island, as he supposed, Florida, partly for the beautiful flowers and partly in honor of the day. A few days later a landing was made near the present site of St. Augustine. The country was taken possession of in the name of the the king of Spain. Still in search of the fountain, the knight went south. Carefully he explored the coast for many leagues. He discovered and named the Tortugas, doubled Cape Florida and then sailed back to Porto Rico, not any handsomer and somewhat older than he went away. The king of Spain rewarded him by creating him governor of the beautiful land, and sent him to establish a colony. He did not reach the shore again until 1521, when he found the Indians in warlike attitude. They met the intruders with bows and arrows, and poor Ponce de Leon was badly wounded and carried back to Cuba, to leave the wrinkled, worn-out body that no earthly fountain could restore.

Fernandez, de Cordova discovered Yucatan and the bay of Campeachy, but in a battle with the natives he was mortally wounded and many of his men killed.

Grijalva explored the coast of Mexico the next year, assisted by Cordova's pilot.

Fernando Cortez brought his fleet to Tabasco and began the conquest of Mexico. An army of warriors gathered to prevent the invasion, but he swept them away and started to confer with Montezuma. The ambassadors of that monarch, knowing too well his weakness, tried to keep Cortez at a distance. They made him costly presents and endeavored in every way to dissuade him. Then they hurried back to Montezuma, who sent them again to Cortez with more valuable presents and earnestly begged him to come no nearer. But burning their ships behind them they took up their march to the capital. The nations who had been tributary to Montezuma now threw off his yoke and joined Cortez. Poor Montezuma! He was of a weak and vacillating disposition. He was frightened till he knew not what to do, and when they proudly marched into his capital he came to meet them and they camped in the grand central square near the temple of the Aztec god of war.

For a month Cortez rested. It was winter, and he and his officers examined everything of note in the city. They were allowed to go about freely and even examine the altars and thrones, that every day received a human sacrifice. On every side there were inexhaustible stores of provisions. There were vast treasures of gold and silver, and vast arsenals filled with bows and javelins. But Cortez was becoming uneasy. The natives were now so accustomed to the white men that they no longer took them for emissaries of God. There was danger in the millions of natives that swarmed about his little army. In this emergency the dauntless Cortez boldly seized the



monarch and held him as a hostage. As a pretext for this outrage he said it was a retort on the Mexican governor of an adjacent province, who had attacked the Spanish garrison there, and that Montezuma himself had acted with hostility and treachery to the Spaniards while on the march to the capital, and when once the emperor was in his power he compelled Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal of Spain, and to agree to an annual tribute, and at once the payment of a sum of money equal to six million three hundred thousand dollars. But the governor of Cuba was jealous of the fame of Cortez, and he dispatched a force to Mexico to arrest his progress and to supersede him in command. The man who was to supersede Cortez was Pamphilo de Narvaez. His command amounted to more than twelve hundred well armed and strictly disciplined soldiers. Cortez was vigilant and had received information from Vera Cruz of the intended invasion. He was desperate, and determined to hold his own or perish, so he divided his little command. Leaving half of them in the city, he quietly and swiftly withdrew; and by a forced march to the sea coast he proposed to encounter De Narvaez. He was successful, for while De Narvaez and his men were asleep in their camp on the night of May 26th, 1520, he burst upon them with the fury of a cyclone, and before they knew what they were about he compelled a surrender and induced the conquered army to march under *his* standard to the capital. Already the city was in a tumult and Alvarado, whom Cortez had left in charge, was besieged. Cortez marched to their assistance and at-

tempted by diplomacy to settle affairs, "but all too late, the war was on," blood flowed in the streets. Cortez, without shame, took poor broken-hearted Montezuma to the top of the palace and made him counsel the besiegers for peace with the Spaniards. But the wretched king received a volley of javelins from his own desperate subjects.

A few days later he died of his injuries, and his warriors in sorrow and remorse desisted for a time. But Cortez felt that his safety lay in vacating the city. At length a great battle terminated in the capture by the Spaniards of the banner of Mexico. This disheartened the Mexicans and they ignominiously fled.

Again in 1520 Cortez led his army to the capital and besieged it until August, when the city raised the siege and Mexico became a Spanish province. Among the illustrious Spaniards are the names of Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese by birth, but sailing under command of the king of Spain; De Ayllon, Ferdinand de Soto. Pedro Melendez, an exceedingly blood-thirsty man, destroyed the colony of French Huguenots near the mouth of the St. Johns river.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### EARLY COLONIES AMONG THE FRENCH.

**I**N the year of 1506 a map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was made by a Frenchman whose name is not given. Two years previously a band of fishermen from Brittany and Normandy were located there, and in 1508 some Indians were taken to France. In 1518 Francis I began to take an interest in the new world. Five years later a voyage of discovery was planned. John Verrazzani of Florence was commissioned to conduct the expedition, the object being to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies. The ship was named the *Dolphin*. When out fifty days she neared the main land not far from Wilmington. The Indians were kind and friendly. Then they coasted up New Jersey and entered the harbor of New York. At Newport they anchored and bartered with the natives. Here they kidnapped a child and attempted to steal a girl. From Newport the *Dolphin* sailed northward, exploring the coast as far as Newfoundland. The name of New France was given to the country.

Later came to America James Cartier, who named a town situated at the foot of a high hill on an island Mont-Real. Francis La Roque came next. In May, 1541, Cartier again returned to this country with five ships. John Ribault of Dieppe came with a band of Huguenots, who were destroyed by the wicked

Spaniard Melendez. Two years later another colony commanded by Laudorniere came, but they were bad people and practiced piracy. Then the story of the cruel murders of the Huguenots by Melendez reached the mother land, and Dominic de Gournes of Gascony came upon the Spaniards with righteous fury. He destroyed the three Spanish forts on St. Johns and imprisoned the inmates. Unable to hold his position, he hung the leaders and above them he put this legend, "*Not Spaniards, but Murderers.*"

In 1598 Marquis of La Roche was commissioned to form a colony, and again the prisons of France were opened to send to the beautiful new world the refuse of the old—even as at *this date*, when dangerous criminals have their passages paid, when poor-houses and asylums of the old world fill the steerage with the poor wretches to whom they begrudge the means of life, so they send the children of misery to this blessed home of the free.

In 1603 De Monts was granted the sovereignty of the country from the latitude of Philadelphia to one degree north of Montreal. The settlement was finally made at Port Royal. The fort was constructed and the country was called Acadia and Longfellow's exquisite poem of "Evangeline" fully describes the pitiful driving from their homes of these settlers.

In 1603 Samuel Champlain established a trading post on the St. Lawrence at the present site of Quebec. Twice did Champlain bring additions to this colony. He became governor of New France. To him more than any other man the success of the French colonies was due.

## CHAPTER IX.

### EARLY ENGLISH COLONIES.

**M**ARCH 5th, 1496, Henry VII of England granted a patent to "John Cabote, citizen of Venice ; to Lewes, Sebastian, and Santinus, sonnes of the said John." It empowered them to seek out, subdue and occupy, at their own charges, any regions which before had "been unknown to all Christians." They were authorized to "set up the royal banner, and possess the territories discovered by them as the king's vassals." Bristol was the only port to which they were permitted to return, and a fifth part of the gains of the voyage was reserved for the crown. The discoverers were vested with "exclusive privileges of resort and traffic. History speaks no more of the "sonnes" Lewes and Santinus, but John and Sebastian sailed from Bristol in the *Mathew*. The most precise account of the discovery is from a map drawn by Sebastian Cabot and engraved in 1549 by Clement Adams, which is known to have been hung in Queen Elizabeth's gallery at Whitehall. The notice runs in this way : "In the year of our Lord 1497 John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian, discovered that country which no one before this time had ventured to approach, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning. He called the land *terra primum visa*, because, as I conjecture, this was the place that first met his eye in looking from the sea. On the contrary, the

island which lies opposite the land he called the island of St. John, as I suppose because it was discovered on the festival of St. John the Baptist."

In Sebastian Cabot's map of 1544, the original of which is in the geographical cabinet, the island of St. John corresponds with that of Prince Edward. The authenticity of the map being accepted, the "first land seen" must have been Nova Scotia or the island of Cape Breton.

A second patent was issued to John Cabot February 3d, 1498, which authorized him to "take six ships (of not more than two hundred tons burthen) and therein convey and lede to the lande and isles found by the said John in oure name and by oure commandment."

But John Cabot had departed this life before the expedition was ready to sail, and so Sebastian sailed from Bristol in May with five vessels. He was determined this time to find a passage to India. Like Columbus, he thought the new world a part of the Grand Khan's dominions, but though it was July when they reached the most northerly limit they could, the sufferings from cold were so severe that most of the three hundred colonists died from exposure. We hear no more from Cabot until we find him in Spain in 1518, when he was appointed by that government "pilot major." He made many voyages and finally died in London in 1557. He was not far from eighty years of age. His character is highly extolled by contemporaries, and was distinguished by lofty courage and great perserverance. Few lives exhibit such incessant activity.

The career of English discovery was checked during the greater part of the sixteenth century, but with the accession of Queen Elizabeth a new impulse was given to voyage and adventure. Martin Frobisher, aided by the Earl of Warwick, had three small vessels fitted out to search for the north-west passage to Asia. One was lost on the voyage, another returned to England, and the third sailed to a higher latitude than ever before attained. The group of islands in the mouth of Hudson's strait was discovered. The larger island lying northward was discovered and a stone said to contain gold was found. This he took with him, as well as an Esquimau. After this two fleets came to the country in search of the precious metal. They are said to have carried away whole tons of *dirt*, probably mica.

Among other English navigators were Sir Francis Drake, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. The two latter, each in command of a ship, reached Carolina in July, 1584. The shores of Albermarle and Pamlico sound were explored, and they landed on Roanoke island, where the English were kindly entertained by the Indian queen. The navigators were charmed with the beauty of the land. The waters of the sea were clear and glossy, the forests abounded in flowers, yet neither of the commanders had the courage to found a colony, and after two months they returned to England, and the queen, Elizabeth, called her new country *Virginia*.

In December, 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh's patent was confirmed by parliament (in the spring of 1584 a patent had been granted him as liberal as that of Sir

Humphrey Gilbert). A great deal of zeal was now manifested. Sir Richard Grenville commanded the fleet, and a company composed in part of young nobles made up the crew. The seven vessels composing the fleet reached America on the 20th of June. They were in great danger of being wrecked at Cape Fear. Six days later they reached Roanoke in safety.

Ralph Lane was made governor of the colony of a hundred and ten, and Grenville returned to England, taking with him a Spanish treasure ship which he had captured. But peace came *not* to the colonists. Wingina, the Indian king, and several of his chiefs were allured into the English settlement and *killed*. There was danger for the colonists everywhere thereafter, and so when Sir Francis came in sight with a fleet the colonists begged him to take them back to England. A few days later a ship load of provisions arrived from Sir Walter Raleigh, but finding no trace of the colonists returned to England. A little later came Sir Richard Grenville to Roanoke. He had three well-laden ships with him. He searched thoroughly for the colonists, who had been so eager to depart that they had taken no pains to leave on a blazed tree in the deserted settlement words written in charcoal, which would have at once removed all uneasiness from the minds of those who came after them. To keep possession of the country, fifteen of Sir Richard Grenville's men remained. The fleet returned to England and another colony was quickly made up. It was decided to call the new settlement "City of Raleigh."

The colonists arrived in Carolina the following July. But the fifteen men left at Roanoke island had



been murdered by the Indians. Not daunted by this, the northern extremity of the island was again chosen for the site of the city, and the foundations laid. But the Indians remembered the treachery of the whites despite the honor Sir Walter conferred on the chief Manteo, creating him "lord of Roanoke."

John White was governor of this colony. But as the settlers did not sow there was nothing for them to reap. Starvation was before them. The "lord of Roanoke" still hunted and fished and gave no heed to the "citizens of Raleigh," and as the winter was approaching, and they had neglected to build houses, as well as to plant corn, Governor White was compelled to return to England for supplies.

This year, 1585, Virginia Dare was born, the first white child of English parentage. White left one hundred and eight citizens in Raleigh, but what became of them no man knows. The ships he sent to them loaded with provisions went cruising after a Spanish merchantman and were captured themselves by a man of war. Five years later Governor White returned to the city of Raleigh. The island had become a desert. There was *nothing* left to tell the story.

Sir Walter Raleigh had now spent about two hundred thousand dollars in attempting to found a colony. He assigned his rights to an association of London merchants. After this very little in the way of English discoveries took place until 1602, when Bartholomew Gosnold reached the coast of Maine. He was seven weeks making the journey. His vessel, but a small one, was named the Concord. He explored the coast

from Cape Elizabeth to Cape cod. He went ashore and took four men with him. This was the first landing of Englishmen in New England. On the most westerly of the Elizabeth islands, the first New England *settlement* was made. But after a traffic with the Indians, resulting in the ship being laden with sassafras root, the settlers begged to be allowed to return in the ship. Gosnold did not refuse them, and five weeks later the Concord was again anchored in the Thames.

Gosnold was delighted with the country, and April, 1603, two vessels sailed for America. They came safely to Penobscot bay, and also explored other harbors in Maine. They were named the Speedwell and the Discoverer. Martin Pring was commander. After his explorations he returned to the sassafras regions and loaded his vessels at Martha's Vineyard and returned to Bristol, having been away six months.

In 1605 George Weymouth commanded an expedition to America. He came to the coast of Maine, anchoring among the islands of St. George. He explored the harbor and opened a trade with the Indians, some of them returning to England with him. He left England in April and returned in June.

On the 10th of April, 1606, King James I of England issued two patents to men of his kingdom, authorizing them to colonize all that portion of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude. This immense tract extended from the mouth of Cape Fear river to Passamaquoddy bay and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The first of these patents was granted to an associa-

tion of nobles, gentlemen and merchants, called the London Company, while the second was issued to a similar body organized at Plymouth, and bearing the name of the Plymouth Company. To the London Company was given the region between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth degrees of latitude and to the Plymouth the tract between the thirty-eighth and forty-first parallels. The belt of three degrees between the thirty-eighth and forty-first parallel was to be open to colonies of either company, but no settlement of one party was to be made within less than a hundred miles of the nearest settlement of the other. The Plymouth Company was not successful.

Bartholomew Gosnold, of whom we have read, was the leading man in the London Company. His associates were Richard Hunt, a clergyman; Edward Wingfield, a rich merchant; John Smith, an adventurer; Sir John Popham, chief justice of England; Richard Hakluyt, a historian, and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a nobleman. The affairs of the company were to be administered by a superior council residing in England, and an inferior council living in the colony. No principles of self-government were allowed. A provision in the patent required the colony to hold all property in common for five years. The charter also allowed the emigrants to retain in the new world all the rights of Englishmen.

The first ship of the Plymouth Company sailed in early August, 1606. Later another ship was sent out, which remained until spring. The reports brought back by this ship were so encouraging that in the summer following (1607) the company sent

out a colony of another hundred persons. The mouth of the river Kennebec, in Maine, was selected for the settlement. A block house was constructed and several cabins built. The ships then returned to England, leaving a colony of forty-five persons. The winter of 1607-8 was very severe. Some of the poor people were frozen, and some starved (the store house and its contents had been destroyed by fire). When the ships came again in the summer the remnant of the colony returned to England.

The London Company had better fortune. Three vessels were fitted out and Christopher Newport was placed in command. They sailed on the 9th of December, 1606, with one hundred and five colonists on board. Wingfield and Smith, who had been with the Plymouth Company, were among the party. Newport took the old route by way of the Canary Isles and did not touch the new world until April. He had intended landing on the disastrous Roanoke island, but fortunately a storm carried the ship northward into the Chesapeake. Entering the bay, the vessels came to the mouth of a beautiful river, which they named in honor of King James. They proceeded up the river some fifty miles, when the company landed on a peninsula of surpassing beauty. And here on the 13th of May (old style). 1607, were laid the foundations of Jamestown, *the oldest English settlement in America.*

In the meantime John Smith was not eating the bread of idleness. He was an active man, taking a great interest in the Virginian settlement. Maine was too cold, but the climate of Virginia was mild, and

yet not warm enough to be enervating. Smith had excellent business qualifications, and he had observed, that terrible winter in Maine, that the wild creatures wore beautiful coats of fur, since nature clothes her creatures according to their needs. So in 1609 Smith returned to England, where he formed a partnership with four wealthy merchants of London to trade in furs and establish a colony within the limits of the Plymouth grant. Two ships were freighted with goods and put under Smith's command. These goods were selected to please the Indians, who were inordinately fond of "gewgaws." Beads, ear-rings, bracelets, breast-pins of most glittering brass and set with bits of colored glass, were greatly admired by warriors as well as squaws. So too were the gaily printed chintzes or copper plates, something not very different from modern cottons. The ships sailed to the Maine coast, where an exceedingly profitable traffic was carried on with the Indians, bartering for furs the goods with which the ships were laden. In November, when the cold was beginning to be felt, they sailed back to England. Smith came again to America in 1615. He brought with him sixteen colonists. They encountered a severe storm when nearly at their destination and were compelled to put back to England. But not yet discouraged, Smith raised another company, this time not so judiciously chosen. Part of his crew became mutinous and left him in mid-ocean. His ship was captured by French pirates, and himself imprisoned in the harbor of Rochelle. Smith escaped in an open boat and made his way to London. He immediately set about publishing a de-

scription of the New England and was more energetic than ever in inciting the Plymouth Company to renewed exertions. The London Company were very jealous of the Plymouth and put all the obstacles possible in the way. Two years, 1617 and 1618, were spent in making plans for a new colonization. Finally, on the petition of some of its own leading members, the Plymouth Company was superseded by a new corporation known as the Council of Plymouth. This council was formed of forty of the most wealthy and influential men of the kingdom. By the new charter almost unlimited power and privileges were conferred on the new company. All that part of America lying between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude and reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific was given in fee simple to the forty men who composed the council. More than a million of square miles were embraced in the grant, and absolute jurisdiction over all this tract of country was committed to forty men.

How King James came to sign such a charter has always remained a mystery. The plan of colonization was on a large scale. John Smith was made Admiral of New England for life. The king, in opposition to the House of Commons, issued a proclamation enforcing the provisions of the charter. And there were promises of an early settlement in America. "But man proposes, God disposes."

New England was to be the refuge of a people desiring to worship Him without pomp or pageantry. Politically the Puritans were patriotic to the king of their country. Religiously they rebelled against the

authority of the English church. Queen Elizabeth was more bitter against these people than King James. She declared such teaching to be subversive of the very principles on which her kingdom was founded. The Puritans were persecuted frequently. They were few and scattered through the north of England, principally in Nottingham, Lincoln and York counties. Though they were called rebels, their rebellion extended only to the declaration "that every man has a right to discover and apply the truth as revealed in the scriptures without the interpositson of any power other than his own reason and conscience." The little band resolved to leave England and they started for Holland, only to be brought back again and thrown into prison for a time. When liberated they gathered together on a bleak heath in Lincolnshire, and in 1608 embarked from the mouth of the Humber. They landed at Amsterdam, after one year going to Leyden, where they remained ten years. But they were ever homesick. The love of their country increased with their absence from it. They did not take kindly to Dutch manners or ways. And in the year of 1617 they began to think and talk of emigrating to the wilds of the New World, where they would be allowed the freedom of religious worship and yet could be loyal subjects of King James. So they sent John Carver and Robert Cushman to England to ask permission for the church of Leyden to settle in America. The agents of the London Company and also the Council of Plymouth gave some encouragement to their request, but the king and his ministers, especially Lord Bacon, were bitterly opposed to any project that would

appear to favor these heretics, as they were denominated.

The Puritans were strong of heart nevertheless and were not to be discouraged. They were determined to go to the New World. If they could not get a charter they would go without one, and since permission had not been granted to them they would go without it. They had some resources of their own, and a few faithful friends. They bought the *Speedwell*, a little vessel of sixty tons, at Amsterdam, and the *Mayflower*, much larger and more substantial, was hired for the voyage. The *Speedwell* was to carry the emigrants from Leyden to Southampton and they were to join the *Mayflower* filled with a company from London. John Robinson, the heroic pastor, went with the Pilgrims, journeyed with his congregation from Leyden to the harbor of Delft, a distance of fifteen miles, to see the embarkation of their brethren. As many as could be accommodated went on board the *Speedwell*.

The pastor made a touching farewell address, and the blessings and prayers of those on shore followed the vessel until it was out of sight.

Both ships came safely to Southampton. They left the harbor on the 5th of August, 1620, but the *Speedwell* was soon found to be unseaworthy. It was old and leaky. So both ships came to anchor in Dartmouth, and it required eight days of work before it was safe to sail again. Scarcely had they started again when the captain of the *Speedwell* declared his vessel unfit to breast the ocean, and then to the sorrow and consternation of the passengers put back to Plymouth. The leaky ship was abandoned. The citizens



feasted the poor Pilgrims and as many as could went on board the Mayflower, anxious to reach a free land. So it was the 6th of September before the shores of England faded from their sight.

The voyage was dreadful. For sixty-three days they were beaten and driven. At length the shores of Cape Cod came in sight. At this time of year it was bleak and desolate, but still it was *land*. The Pilgrims had intended going up the Hudson, for they had heard marvelous tales of the beauty of the country. On the 9th of November the vessel anchored in the bay, and a meeting was held on board and the colony organized under a solemn compact. They made a charter for themselves and declared their loyalty to the English crown, and covenanted together to live in peace and harmony, *with equal rights to all*, obedient to just laws made for the common good. Is it not a sublime constitution, and with all its simplicity does it not embody everything necessary? Is it not like that simplest of creeds, "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself?" All the heads of families signed this charter. They numbered forty-one. Then an election took place, and John Carver was elected governor by a unanimous vote. They began to get themselves in readiness to go on shore, and two days later the boat was lowered, but was so rotten as to be useless. More than two weeks of such precious time (as only those who know what New England weather is in November without shelter can tell) was taken up in repairing the boat. Some way Standish Bradford and a few other hardy men got to the shore. They found a heap

of Indian corn buried under the snow. The 6th of December the boat was thought seaworthy and the governor and fifteen others went on shore. It was sleeting and bitterly cold, so that their clothing was soon like coats of mail. They wandered about all day and then returned to the shore, where they encamped. But the Indians attacked them next morning, so they fled to the ship unhurt, deeply thankful.

The vessel was steered to the west and south-west for some forty-five miles, around the coast of what is now Barnstable county. On Saturday night an ugly storm came on. The rudder was torn away and the ship driven by the wind and guided by the pilot into a safe haven on the west side of the bay. On the next day (Sunday) religious services were held, and on Monday, the 11th of December (old style), the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock.

It was now mid-winter and the storms of snow and sleet were unremitting. Many of the Pilgrims became so enfeebled by their long journey and the penetrating cold that they perished, but the sturdy ones kept on exploring and finally concluded to select a site near the first landing. The snow was cleared away, some trees felled, and on the 9th of January these heroic people began to build New Plymouth. Every man set to work to build and fashion his own house. But illness came upon them. In almost every family there were cases of consumption or lung fever. At one time there were only seven men able to work on the sheds which they were building to protect the workmen from the storm while getting the wood in shape for building the houses. When the days were clear

the cold was so intense that fingers, ears and even noses were frozen before their owners were aware of it; and woe to the unlucky creature who put his hand upon his axe or augur or saw. Had it not been for the early spring which brought relief from many ills, the colony must have perished.

## CHAPTER X.

### VOYAGES AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE DUTCH.

**W**E have already read of Sir Henry Hudson's voyages. The Dutch colonies resulted from this illustrious man. In 1607 he had been employed by a company of London merchants to sail into the North Atlantic and discover a route eastward or westward to the East Indies. He had but one ship. With it he passed up the eastern coast of Greenland to a higher point of latitude than had been attained previously; he turned eastward to Spitzbergen, circumnavigated the island, and met so many icebergs that he was forced to return to England. The next year he again ventured, hoping this time to find a way between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla to the east, so as to shorten the route to China by about eight thousand miles. Alas, how many souls have suffered and perished in the same attempt.

With the failure of this voyage Sir Henry Hudson grew more determined than ever; but his employers were plunged in despair. They were cautious people and did not like to take risks even when there was so much to gain. So he went over to Amsterdam. At this time Holland was the foremost of maritime nations, and so eminent a man did not have to beg for patronage in the busy marts of that country.

The Dutch East India Company gave him a yacht called the Half-Moon. It was about the middle of

April, 1609, when he set out for his third voyage to the East Indies. Near the seventy-seventh parallel of latitude, above the capes of Norway, he turned eastward between Lapland and Nova Zembla. The ocean was filled with icebergs, so he could sail no further. He turned his face towards the shores of America; he thought that surely between the Chesapeake and the North Pole there must be a passage to the Pacific Ocean.

In July they reached Newfoundland, and then sailing down to the coast of Maine they stopped to do some needed repairing to the ship, which had been battered in a storm till it was no longer seaworthy. When the repairs were made he sailed southward, touching at Cape Cod. About the middle of August he reached the Chesapeake. Some way he must have missed the passage, he thought, so again he turned the prow to the north and carefully explored the coast. He anchored in Delaware bay on the 28th of August. For a single day he explored and then he sailed on, and on September 3d came to anchor in the bay of Sandy Hook. Two days later he landed and the Indians came to welcome him, bringing fruits and corn and oysters. Until the 9th he explored the great harbor. The 10th he sailed through the narrows and up the beautiful river which bears his name. The forests on either side were magnificent. The pallisades were like nothing in the old world. The grand mountains and the hills and valleys were planted here and there with corn, now ripening. It was like an exquisite dream. The skies were of the most tender blue, the voices of songsters filled the air. It was indeed a new world to the

Netherlanders. September 19th the vessel was moored at the place now known to us as Kinderhook ; but an exploring party quickly set out in small boats and rowed up to the site of the present city of Albany. They remained at Kinderhook several days and then, loosing the moorings, floated down the stream, and on the 4th of October sailed for Holland.

Hudson on the homeward voyage put into the harbor of Dartmouth. Thereupon the noble King James with his characteristic selfishness detained the vessel and claimed the crew for Englishmen. Hudson forwarded to his employers of the East India Company an account of his successful voyage, which had been made under the flag of Holland.

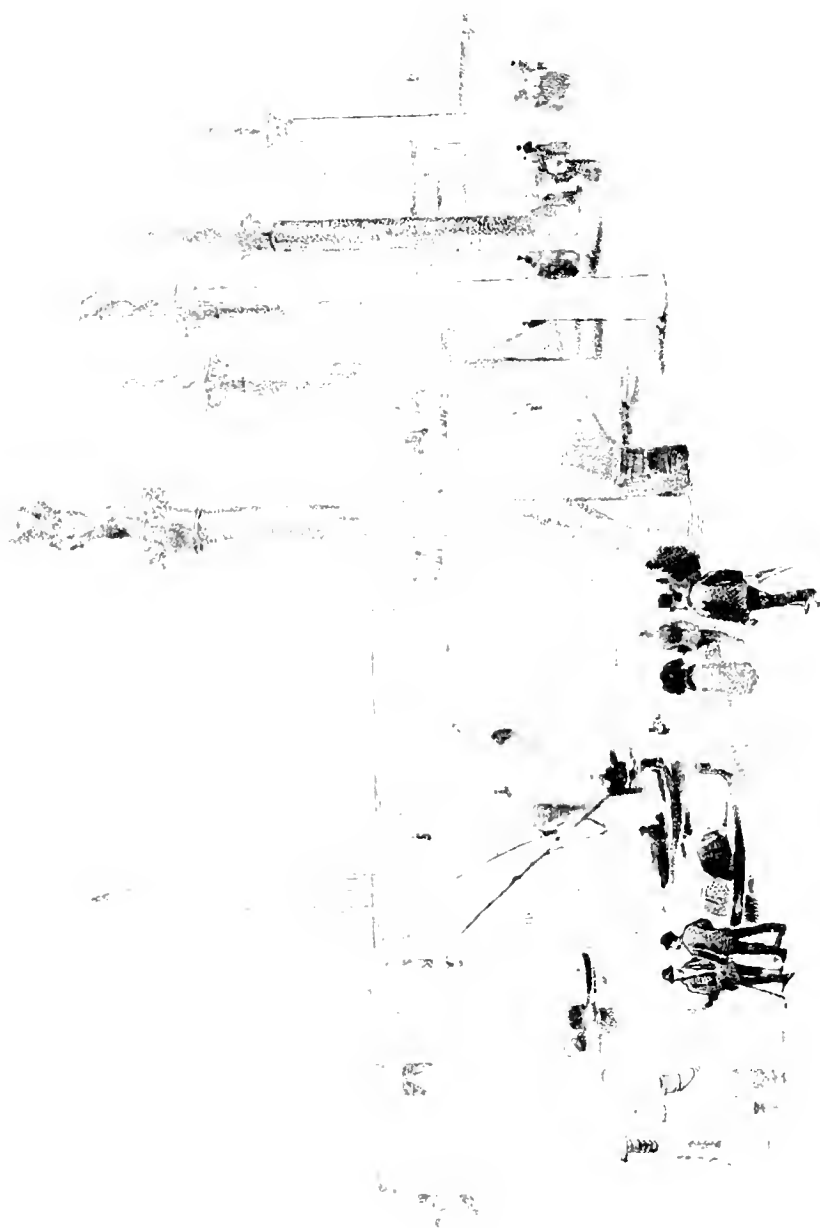
But now the English merchants were quite ready to spend more money on the north-west passage. So in the summer following (1610) a ship called the *Discovery* was put under Hudson's control, and he sailed away never to return. He was quite satisfied by this time that there was no passage between Florida and Maine to the East Indies, so he turned his face northward again and looked for a passage between the gulf of St. Lawrence and the northern part of Greenland. He took the same track that Frobisher had, steering between capes Farewell and Labrador, and on the 2d of August the vessel came to the strait which bears his name. No ship had ever entered these waters unless some Norse sea kings had traveled that way. Westward a group of islands opposed their way ; but passing them the bay opened, the ocean was before them, and they thought the road to Cathay was at last found. But sailing to the west-

ward the shores narrowed and they faced a sea of ice. They were forced to remain, and when their stores were nearly exhausted the way opened for their retreat. But mutiny was among the crew. Only seven remained true to the commander. These seven, with Sir Henry Hudson and his son, were thrown overboard into an open shallop, and no man knows what became of them.

In the summer of 1610 the Half-Moon was liberated at Dartmouth and returned to Amsterdam. The same year several ships were fitted out by Dutch merchants and, sailing up the Hudson river, they traded with the natives for furs. The traffic was exceedingly profitable and they made many voyages. In the year 1614, about the second month, an act was passed by the States General of Holland giving to certain merchants of Amsterdam the exclusive right to trade and establish settlements within the limits of the country explored by Hudson. Five small vessels under this commission were fitted out and arrived at Manhattan island (now the City of New York) in the summer. Former traders had left some rude huts, but a fort was needed and immediately erected and called New Amsterdam. Adrian Block, who commanded one of the ships, sailed through East river into Long Island sound and made explorations along the coast as far as the mouth of the Connecticut, then to Narraganset bay and Cape Cod. About the same time Christianson, another Dutch commander, sailed up the river nearly to the site of Albany and erected a block house which he named Fort Nassau. This was for a long time the most northerly outpost of the Hudson river settlers.

In the meantime Cornelius May, who commanded a little ship named the Fortune, left New Amsterdam and explored the Jersey coast to the bay of Delaware. And now Holland set up a claim to all the country so explored and called the country the New Netherlands, which extended from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod. France and England treated this claim with contempt.







## CHAPTER XI.

### THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN VIRGINIA.

THE failure of the first colonies was the overpowering numbers of *gentlemen*. Hewers of wood and stone, tillers of the soil and artisans generally were too plebeian folk to associate with the gentry, as they would have to in the small vessels. Of all who came to Virginia in 1607 there were but twelve laborers—four carpenters and eight blacksmiths and masons. King James had been wary and sent out sealed instructions, so that the names of the governor and council were unknown during the voyage.

There were some who suspected the able captain, John Smith, whose honor was impeachable, of a plot to murder the council and create himself king of Virginia. So these wise heads arrested the noble man and kept him confined during the voyage. When the colonists reached the land and the instructions were opened the sealed papers gave the names of the inferior council only, so they had a meeting and the choice of governor fell upon Edward Wingfield. And now that there was no proof of anything wrong or underhand the wise people let Captain Smith go aboard once more a free man. The settlement was well under way when Smith and Newport, with twenty others, explored the James river for some forty-five miles. They found the capital of the Indian king

Powhatan near the site of the present city of Richmond. The capital was an unpretentious one—a village of twelve wigwams. The king received his visitors with courtesy and seemed not at all to feel their coming and intrusion. The company now returned to Jamestown and on the 15th of June Newport sailed for England.

Now the colonists began to realize their lonely condition. It is true the land was beautiful and the air still pleasant, but colder days were coming, and then illness came upon so many of them that once but five men were able to go on duty as sentinels. Gosnold died, and before severe frosts came half of the colonists had passed beyond earthly suffering. But the frost checked the disease. But as "evils come not singly" civil dissension was added to their other ills. Embezzling then, as now, was occasionally indulged in by men in high places, and President Wingfield and George Kendall were actually detected in embezzling the stores of the colonists and were removed from office. Ratcliffe was chosen to fill the governor's chair, but was incompetent. The council had now dwindled down to Martin and Smith. By common consent Smith was elected governor of this handful of colonists. He was by birth an Englishman. He had been a great traveler. He was an exceedingly well-informed man and one of undaunted courage. Doubtless, had he been elected governor at first, the fate of many colonists would have been changed. He had scarcely assumed the reins of government till the settlement began to improve. He first improved the habitations on the plantation, then he took measures

to secure a supply of food, for the winter was almost upon them. The Indians had been very successful with their harvest, but they did not care to dispose of their corn to these invaders, so Governor Smith with five companions took a boat and, sailing down the James river to Hampton Roads, they landed and offered the natives hatchets and copper coins in exchange for corn. The Indians laughed them to scorn and in return offered a bit of bread for Smith's sword and musket. The English then charged on their wigwams and found abundance of corn. A parley followed, and the Indians purchased peace by loading the English boats with corn, which was then rowed up the river to Jamestown.

It was not long until the Indians began to come to the fort with voluntary contributions and the colonists no longer feared famine. The woods were filled with wild turkeys, and such good discipline was maintained in the colony that very friendly relations were established with the Indians. So the colonists from the gloom of despair grew cheerful and contented.

When the people were in this comfortable state and the winter had set in Governor Smith and six Englishmen, with two Indian guides, commenced exploring the country on the Chickahominy. The people of Jamestown had conceived the idea that by following up this river they could reach the Pacific Ocean. Smith humored them (knowing better himself), but it gave him the opportunity of exploring the territory. Those of the colonists who desired to search for gold or for the Pacific were welcome. For his part he would see the country and make maps. Smith and

his companions ascended the river until it became a mere creek, crooked as the roots of sassafras and winding about the meadow and through the woods. The party was attacked by Indians, and some of the English killed. Three escaped to the boat, but George Cassen was taken prisoner. Smith was safely hidden, but the savages tortured the wretched Cassen till he revealed his hiding-place. Smith was discovered, wounded with an arrow and chased through the thick forest. The arrows fell around him like hail. With him were the two Indian guides. He compelled them to stand between him and the pursuers and every time he fired his musket he brought down a man. He fought like a lion at bay, tied one of the guides to his left arm for a buckler and ran and fired by turns. At length he stumbled into a morass. Unable to extricate himself, he laid down his musket and made signs of surrender. Still the Indians were wary of him, but they finally came to his assistance and pulled him out of the mire. Smith *demand*ed to be taken to the chief, and on being brought before him he exhibited no fear whatever, but showed the chief two great curiosities, a watch and a pocket compass. These mysterious instruments awed the savages, and Smith took immediate advantage of the fact and commenced to draw figures on the ground, and give his captors some easy lessons in geography and astronomy. At first the savages were astonished, but they became tired, and binding their captive to a tree prepared to shoot him. But again he took his compass, and flourishing it in the air (as though performing a ceremony) the Indians were afraid to shoot. His wisdom and courage

gained reprieve, but before him was the more to be dreaded torture. The superstition of the savages was now thoroughly aroused, and they feared to deal with him except in the most formal manner. They were afraid to touch him lest they touch a deity. They took him first to the town of Orapax, a few miles north-east from what is now Richmond. He was invited to join them and become their leader, but he refused, and then terrified them by describing the cannon and other weapons of destruction possessed by his countrymen. He managed to write a letter to his friends at the settlement, telling them of his position and warning them of their danger, asking for needed articles, and bidding his friends thoroughly frighten the messengers before their return. This letter seemed to impress the Indians with more awe than anything they had yet seen, for they could not understand how a few marks could convey meaning. And when the messengers arrived at Jamestown and found everything as he had described it to them their terror and amazement knew no bounds, and as soon as they returned to Orapax all thought of attacking the settlement was abandoned. The Indians now marched from one town to another with Captain Smith, exhibiting him (which gave him an exalted idea of the country and the number of Indians). At length they came to Pamunkey, the capital of Opechancanough. Here they gave Smith into the charge of the priests, who were assembled in the Judgment Hall or Long House. For three days they danced around him, singing and yelling like demons. The object was to determine his fate, the decree that he should die.

Now, the priests did not possess the entire power. The emperor must sanction their decree before it could be carried out. Powhatan lived some twenty-five miles further down the river in winter, and to him they now brought Smith. Powhatan was now sixty years of age, of commanding aspect and nobility of mien. He received the prisoner with great dignity. "Going to the Long House clad in a robe of raccoon skins, he took his seat on a sort of rude throne prepared for the occasion." His two daughters were on either hand and warriors and women of rank even filed about the hall. The king reviewed the case and coincided with the decision of the priests. Then by a sign two great stones were brought into the hall, and Smith, bound and helpless, was carried and laid so that his head rested in position on one while a strong warrior with his war club stood ready to dispatch him. The signal had been given, the war club was raised high. Matoaka, the king's eldest daughter, sprang forward and stood over the victim, then stooping clasped his head in her arms. Eagerly and with great emotion she besought her father for the captive's life. Powhatan listened and could not say her nay. He ordered Smith to be unbound and lifted up. And since he had spared his captive's life he received him into favor. At first he was required to make hatchets for the warriors and trifles for the king's daughters. As they found him trustworthy they gave him greater freedom, and at length agreed to send him to his people at Jamestown; but he must furnish two cannons and a grindstone to Orapax. Warriors were to be sent with Smith to bring back the articles. Then



would there be peace between the English and the red men. So they set out—twelve warriors and one white man. The company camped out over night in the woods. Smith had little confidence in the integrity of his companions, but they came in safety to the colony and met with a kindly reception. During Smith's confinement among the Indians he made himself familiar with their peculiarities and superstitious weaknesses, as well as their language. He under pretext of showing the warriors how to use the cannon ordered them well charged with powder and filled with stones and had them directed high against the trees that were covered with long icicles. The crash was deafening and well nigh frightened the savages to death. They could not be induced to so much as touch one of the cannons, or even the grindstone, and they returned to their monarch bearing tales only.

There were but thirty-eight settlers alive at this time and these were half-starved and suffering from frost bites and chill-blains. For seven weeks the only competent man among them had been absent—seven weeks in mid-winter, and at that one of the most severe cold known in modern times. Again they were discontented, and when Smith returned they were making ready to embark on the pinnace as soon as the ice should break in the river.

But Providence had not forgotten them. Captain Newport arrived from England. He brought quantities of needful supplies and one hundred and twenty emigrants. There was joy and thanksgiving. But the governor, well skilled in reading human nature,

knew that the coming of these people would be of no benefit to the colony. Their occupations were as follows: thirty-four *gentlemen*, some gold hunters, jewelers, engravers, adventurers, strollers and vagabonds.

Before Newport left, Smith had advised and counseled him to bring but few people, and those industrious mechanics and laborers; but the London Company were avaricious, and the prospect of an immediate golden harvest prompted them to bring those who desired to come.

The wise counsels of Smith, to plant grain and vegetables and prepare houses that would protect them from the rigors of another winter, were jeered at, and few of the old settlers had received instructions by experience, severe though it had been. As soon as the weather would permit they commenced strolling about hunting for gold. At the mouth of a small river tributary to the James some shining particles were found in a sand bank, and as there were no assayers in the colony a gold mine was supposed to have been discovered and the colony was literally crazed with joy. Martin and Newport, both members of the council, shared the common belief. Martin built castles in the air to such an extent that he fancied himself laden with riches and honored with a peerage, while Newport, having filled one of his vessels with the supposed gold dust, sent it to England and himself sailed up the James river expecting to arrive speedily at the Pacific Ocean. There was no ploughing or sowing, and fourteen weeks of glorious spring weather passed. The Indians even were laughing at

the folly of the white men loading the vessel with fool's gold.

In the pursuit of gold Smith was forgotten. Very quietly he organized an exploring party and set out. Dr. Russell and thirteen others accompanied him. On the 2d of June the little band set sail. The vessel was an open barge of three tons burthen, but in this he steered out by the way of Hampton Roads and Cape Henry as far as Smith's island, returning around the peninsula which ends in Cape Charles. They began the survey of the eastern shore of the beautiful bay and continued northward as far as the river Wicomico in Maryland. They now crossed the river to the mouth of the Patuxent, and from there coasted northward along the western side to the Patapsco. Some of the members of the party became dissatisfied and desired to return to Jamestown. Smith gave a reluctant consent, but soon the beauties of the Potomac opened before them and they were very willing to go on. They went up as far as the falls above Georgetown, and then dropped down the river to the bay, and turning south landed at Jamestown the 21st of July. After a rest of three days a second voyage was begun. This time he went to the head of the bay and sailed up the picturesque Susquehanna. He found the Indians of this region to be of gigantic stature and fierce and warlike in disposition. On the return voyage Smith explored every sound and inlet worthy of note as far as the Rappahannoc. This stream he ascended to the head of navigation, and then returned to Jamestown. He had been away a little more than three months, and had explored the coast of the great bay fully

three thousand miles. He had been driven about by storms, wrecked, stung by a poisonous fish and come so near to death that his grave had been prepared, and now he brought to Jamestown a *map of the Chesapeake bay*, which he sent to England by Newport and which is still preserved. Again Smith was elected to govern the colony and as before there came a marked improvement with his administration. There was an end of gold hunting and the later months of the year were full of prosperity. In the fall Newport arrived bringing seventy new emigrants. The general health was now excellent, only seven deaths occurring between September and May. Every man was obliged to work six hours per day. New houses were built, new fields fenced in. All winter long the cheerful ring of hammer and axe were heard.

The 23rd of May, 1609, was an occasion on which King James granted a new charter to the London Company, by which the government was completely changed.

The territory was again extended, this time from Cape Fear to Sandy Hook and west to the Pacific Ocean. The members of the Superior Council were now to be chosen by the stockholders of the company, vacancies were to be filled by the councilors, who were also empowered to elect a governor.

The new council immediately organized. Lord Delaware was elected governor for life. In authority with him were joined Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Christopher Newport, Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Ferdinand Wainman. Five hundred emigrants

were very soon ready and in June a fleet of nine vessels spread sails for America. Lord Delaware did not accompany the expedition, but delegated his authority to Somers, Gates and Newport. In July, when the vessels were passing the West Indies, there was a storm such as are common in that region. The fleet was scattered; one vessel wrecked and the one having on board the commissioners of Lord Delaware was driven ashore on one of the Bermudas: the remaining seven came safely to Jamestown.

Under the old constitution Captain Smith still continued in authority. But there was great strife in the colony. The governor was daily in danger of his life. Some of the most noisy and rebellious subjects he put in prison, and then tried to distract the attention of others by planning two new settlements, one of a hundred and twenty men at Nansemond, the other of a hundred and twenty men at the falls of the James. But both companies behaved badly and soon there was trouble with the Indians. While attempting to restore peace, Smith was wounded by the explosion of a bag of gunpowder, and as there were no surgeons in the colony he was forced to return to England for surgical treatment. He delegated his authority to Sir George Percy and sailed for England September 16th, 1609, nevermore to be identified with Jamestown, Virginia. Very soon after Smith's departure the colony was again brought face to face with starvation. The Indians were hostile, murdering stragglers without the camp. Houses were set on fire; disease came upon them with the fury which swept them away the winter previously. This year was long known as the

starving time. By the last of March only sixty of the four hundred and ninety colonists who were alive, well and in comfort when Smith left them, remained.

Sir Thomas Gates and his companions who had been shipwrecked in the Bermudas built two small vessels and set sail for Virginia. They looked forward to a grand welcome from the five hundred colonists. But instead of firings of cannon and shouts of joy, some poor half-starved wretches crawled out of their houses, begging for bread. All the stores the commissioners had brought with them were quickly distributed among the settlers and Gates assumed control of the government.

But the people refused to remain longer. The commissioners reasoned with them, but all in vain. It was with difficulty they were prevented from burning their houses. They entered the four boats and floated down the river; but Lord Delaware's ships came in sight before the colonists had reached the sea. He brought with him stores and emigrants and before nightfall the fires were again rekindled in the deserted city of Jamestown.

The next day the commission of Lord Delaware was read, but on account of ill health this authority was delegated to Percy, who had been the deputy of Captain Smith. The Superior Council had already sent a load of stores, and Sir Thomas Dale was bringing another company of emigrants.

When the vessels arrived at Jamestown Percy was superseded as governor by Dale, who adopted a system of martial law as the basis of his administration. Sir Thomas Gates arrived the latter part of August

with six ships. On board were three hundred emigrants and a large quantity of stores.

Heretofore the settlement had been communistic; now the right of holding private property was recognized. The lands were divided, giving three acres to each settler. Heretofore all the fruits, vegetables, etc., were gathered in a common barn; now the product belonged only to the man who tilled the ground. At once the colonists became more industrious and cheerfulness drove despair away.

Again in 1612 a third patent was granted the London Company from the king, by which the character of the government was again changed. The Superior Council was abolished and the stockholders were authorized to elect their own officers and to govern the colony on their own responsibility. This change was because of the unprofitableness of the colony in the past and the great expense attending, as well as the dissatisfaction of the company with the management of the council.

In the year 1613 Captain Samuel Argall was on an expedition up the Potomac, and hearing that Pocahontas, the daughter of King Powhatan, was in the neighborhood enticed the girl on board his vessel and held her captive. He demanded a large ransom for her liberation, but the king refused to pay any and ordered his tribes to prepare for war; but while still a prisoner she was converted to the Christian faith and became a worthy member of the Episcopal church. John Rolfe was a young Englishman of good birth. He became attached to the Indian maiden and asked her hand in marriage. The king and his chiefs con-

sented, and in the spring time, when all things were most beautiful, the marriage was celebrated and a bond of union between the white men and the red men was formed.

Two years later Rolfe took his wife to England. Captain Smith introduced them to Queen Anne and much attention was shown the dusky princess, who, if traditions are to be believed, was really a beautiful woman. The next year she sickened and died, leaving a son, who came to Jamestown and became a man of importance in the colony. Several Virginia families trace their relationship to this man. John Randolph of Roanoke was a descendant of Pocahontas.

Again Captain Argall commanded an expedition to the coast of Maine. The object was to protect English fishermen and to destroy any French colonies that might be found on that part of the earth that England claimed. The French authorities of Acadia were building a village near the mouth of the Penobscot. The malicious Argall pillaged the settlement and then burned it. Part of the inhabitants were sent to France and part to the Chesapeake. Then they attacked the French settlement at St. Croix. The fort was cannonaded and destroyed. At Port Royal Argall burned the hamlet built by Poutrincourt eight years before. On his way back to Virginia he fell upon the Dutch at Manhattan island, destroyed their huts, and compelled the settlers to acknowledge the king of England. So the French were compelled to confine themselves to the banks of the St. Lawrence river.

Sir Thomas Gates returned to England early in 1614. He left the management of affairs to Dale.



The laws of the colony had been much improved, and the colonial industries began to make a showing. Formerly the colonists had manufactured soap, glass and tar; now these things could be bought more cheaply in England, so it was not worth while to export them. They discovered that there were products in the new world that could easily be raised and be exported with profit. Tobacco, which had now become very fashionable in Spain, England and France, was very easily cultivated, and the streets of Jamestown were planted with the weed.

In the year 1617 Captain Argall, about whom history does not mention a single kind thing, was elected governor. As might be expected, his administration was marked by fraud and violence. When the news of his management reached England emigration was stopped, and Lord Delaware immediately started for America in the hope of restoring order, but he died on the voyage.

In 1619 Argall was displaced, leaving a shameful record. George Yeardley was his successor. Under his management many burdens were removed from the people, taxes were repealed and martial law abolished. The plantation was divided into eleven districts called boroughs. The citizens of each borough were entitled to elect two of their number to take part in the government. The elections took place for the first time July 30th, 1619. *The Virginia house of burgesses* was organized. This was the first popular assembly in the new world. Though freedom of debate was allowed, there was very little political power allowed the house of burgesses. In the same year slavery was

introduced. Heretofore the servants at Jamestown had been English or German. The term of service varied from months to years. In August a Dutch man of war sailed up the river to the plantations and offered at auction twenty Africans, who were bought by the wealthy residents and were slaves for life.

The Virginian society was neither refined (I was about to say respectable) nor elegant. There were, it is true, six hundred men in the colony, but few of them came there with the expectation of making a permanent home. Very few families had emigrated.

Sir Thomas Smith was now president of the London Company, and Sir Edwin Sandys succeeded Smith. The latter was a man of prudence and integrity. A reformation of abuses was at once begun *and carried out*.

During the summer of 1620 the new treasurer of the company sent out twelve hundred and sixty-one persons. Among the number were ninety well bred young women, and in the following spring sixty more modest young women came over and secured a welcome. The passages of these young women were paid by the citizens of Jamestown, since the treasury of the London Company was empty. An assessment of one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco was levied for each young woman, and cheerfully paid. The second ship load cost one hundred and fifty pounds. This was paid without complaint. Many marriages resulted and the state of society grew better.

In July of 1621 the London Company gave to Virginia a code of written laws framed according to the constitution of England, which *again* changed

the government. Sir Francis Wyatt, who was now commissioned governor, brought the new constitution to Virginia in October, 1621. The colony was now in a very flourishing condition. The settlement extended for a hundred and forty miles along the James river banks and far into the interior. But the Indians had grown jealous of the growing colony and determined to destroy them before they should be too many. Pocahontas and her noble father Powhatan, also Opechancanough, the present king, had long plotted the destruction of the intruders and the time had come for the massacre. Up to the very day in which it was to take place the Indians appeared to be on the best of terms with the colonists. They came to the settlement, borrowed boats and guns and gave no token of enmity. On the 22d of March, at noon, the savages all in unison fell on every hamlet, every family. Men, women and children were destroyed indiscriminately, until the victims numbered three hundred and forty-seven. A more terrible carnage was avoided by a faithful Indian who had been converted. He had a friend among the white men whom he desired to save, and he went to him the night before the massacre and warned him. The alarm was quickly spread among the settlements, and so the larger number of colonists were prepared, but those who were destroyed lived so far out that messengers could not reach them.

The people felt the need of being close together and so gathered about Jamestown. Before the massacre there had been eighty plantations; after that there were but eight. Still there were sixteen hun-

dred men in the colony, and vengeance burned in every breast. They formed themselves into companies, and scouring the country they burned villages, killing all Indians they came across, until the living fled to the wilderness. The colonists returned to their farms, and the next year the population increased to 2,500. But now King James began to think the constitution far too liberal, and he determined, if he could not entirely control the London Company, he would entirely suppress it. A committee was appointed to look into the affairs of the company and they reported unsound principles, bankrupt treasury and bad government in Virginia. Legal proceedings were now instituted against the company and the judges decided the patent null and void. The charter of the corporation was accordingly cancelled by the king in June, 1624. The London Company no longer existed. But the seed, after so many discouraging trials, had taken root and grew and flourished. That there was not the highest attainable education among the people we gather from the answer of Sir William Berkeley to one of the interrogatories put to him by the British lords-commissioner of foreign affairs. The question asked was, "What number of English, Scotch and Irish have for these seven years come to yearly plant and inhabit with your government?" And also, "What blacks or slaves have been brought within the same?" Berkeley replied, "Yearly they come in of servants about fifteen hundred. Most are English, few Scotch and still fewer Irish, and not above two or three ship loads of negroes in seven years." Nothing is said of the free emigrants, though included in the

interrogatory. Probably the number was so inconsiderable as not to deserve mention.

Sir William further says, "But I thank God there are *no* free schools or printing; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" The farms in Maryland and Virginia fronting on the Chesapeake were extensive, the scenery unsurpassed. The magnificent sheet of water spread before them; on either hand luxuriant forests giving way before civilization; mountains and hills in the distance and fertile meadows that generously responded to the planter's toil. The planter's mansion was usually built not far from the shore, with large rooms and many windows of tiny panes set in lead. There were roomy porches and large gardens, in the prim English fashion, with walks bordered by box; sometimes there was a maze constructed of trees of the same size planted closely together, to form a labyrinth of winding paths, ending in an exquisite bed of choice flowers. Seats were disposed in this labyrinth, which was a favorite resort of the gentlewomen. The houses were of English brick. Indeed, everything used in construction and ornamentation came from the mother country. We can do no better here than to quote from an English visitor whose letter to a friend in England contains a description of the houses (some of them standing at this time, '92): "On entering the hall the walls were seen covered with deer antlers, fishing rods and guns; portraits of cavaliers and dames and children; even carefully

painted pictures of horses, on whose speed and bottom many thousand pounds had been staked and lost, and won, in their day and generation. On one side of the hall a broad staircase with oaken balustrade led to the numerous apartments above, and on the opposite side a door gave entrance into the great dining hall. The dining room was decorated with great elegance, the carved oaken wainscot extending above the mantel piece in an unbroken expanse of fruits and flowers, hideous laughing faces, and armorial devices to the cornice. The furniture was in the Louis Quatorze style, with carved backs to the low-seated chairs. There were Chelsea figures and a side board full of plate, and a Japan cabinet, and a Kidderminster carpet; while in the great fire place a few twigs crackled on large and highly polished brass andirons. On the walls hung pictures of gay gallants, brave warriors, and fair dames, whose eyes outshone their diamonds; and more than one ancestor looked grimly down clad in cuirass and armlets, and holding in his mailed hand the sword which had done bloody service in its time. The lady portraits, as an invariable rule, were decorated with sunset clouds of yellow lace; the bright locks were powdered, and many little black patches set off the dazzling fairness of their rounded chin."

The tenements were for the use of the manager and overseers, and the slaves had cabins.

Colonel John Taylor, distinguished in the seventeenth century as a statesman, author, farmer and philanthropist, was the first man who attempted to improve the condition of the slaves. "He built com-

modious brick dwellings for them, and accustomed them to plank floors, glass windows and decent, civilized habits of living. He, besides, furnished them more regularly and abundantly with food and clothing than was usual. His negroes multiplied rapidly, became more honest and industrious and his crops increased."

Between the pioneers and the planters there was a wide difference. The pioneers had been turbulent spirits, gamesters, disbanded soldiers, or rejected lovers. The planters were of the nobles, refined and educated.

The staple product of the country was tobacco. The laws against its cultivation were evaded, though it was very exhausting to the soil.

Cotton was raised at an early date, but not in sufficient quantities for export. In 1694 a vessel from Madagascar in distress put into Charlestown. The vessel was loaded with rice, and the captain in return for the kindness he had received gave the governor a bag of rice. Now the governor had seen the rice growing in the hot swamps of Madagascar, so had it sown in the swamps of Carolina. The enterprise was successful, and soon rice was growing in both Carolina and Georgia.

King James died in 1625. His son Charles I succeeded him. This young man was inexperienced and stubborn. He took little heed of his western dominions until he observed the tobacco import. Then he would have a monopoly of it if he could, but the colonial authorities outwitted him, and to his honor be it said he recognized them as "a rightfully constituted power.

In 1626 Governor Wyatt retired from office, and Yeardley, the kind friend of the colonists, again became governor. Under his administration the state improved rapidly and things were in a most flourishing condition; but he died November, 1627. During the summer preceding his death a thousand new emigrants arrived. The council had the right in an emergency like the death of the governor to elect one to fill the vacancy, and Francis West was chosen. But no sooner had the death of Yeardley been reported in England than King Charles commissioned John Harvey to assume the government. He arrived in the fall of 1629, and from this time till 1635 the colony was ruled by a most unpopular magistrate. He was disliked on general principles, as well as because of favoritism. There were many old land grants now used by poor persons, who had improved the land in a high degree. The governor took sides with the speculators against the people, and the outraged assembly of 1635 passed a resolution that Sir John Harvey be thrust out of place, and Captain West be appointed in his place "until the king's pleasure be known in the matter." A majority of councillors sided with the burgesses, and Harvey was obliged to go to England for trial. But the king treated the whole matter with contempt and refused a hearing and restored John Harvey at once to his place as governor of his most unwilling subjects, and he continued in power until the year 1639, when he was superseded by Wyatt, who held the position until 1642, when came the English Revolution. The exaction and tyranny of Charles drove his people into open rebellion. In



January, 1642, the king with his friends repaired to Nottingham and collected an army of Royalists. The capital and southern part of the country remained with parliament. The High Church party took sides with the king. The republicans and dissenters made up the opposing forces and the country was plunged into the horrors of a civil war. It was more than two years before the royal army was routed. The king escaped to Scotland, and his friends fled to other lands.

But on demand of parliament King Charles was brought back, tried and beheaded January 30, 1649. Monarchy was abolished. Oliver Cromwell, general of the parliamentary army, was made Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England. He retained this office until his death in 1658. His son Richard succeeded him, but the son lacked his father's abilities and courage. Becoming alarmed at the dangers that gathered around him, he resigned. For a little time the country was in anarchy. Then General Monk, who commanded the English army of the north, came down from Scotland and declared a restoration of the monarchy. The exiled son of King Charles was called home and proclaimed king. Parliament sanctioned the measure and on May 18, 1660, Charles II ascended the throne of England.

These were troublous times. Virginia shared in some degree the troubles of the mother land, yet the evil done to the new state might have been more disastrous than it was. In the first year of the civil war Sir William Berkeley became governor of the colony and remained in charge ten years. There was prosperity and rapid development in the growth of the

colony under his wise management. The controversies about the lands were satisfactorily adjusted, cruel punishments abolished and taxes equalized. The general assembly was regularly convened to bear its part in the government, and Virginia was in essential particulars a free as well as a prosperous state. So rapid did the population increase that in 1646 there were twenty thousand people in the colony.

But as there is nothing absolutely perfect in this world, religious dissensions began to occur in Virginia. The Episcopal church was established by law and dissenting was a crime. The Puritans were despised. They were charged with being destroyers of peace in England, and in March, 1643, a statute was enacted by the assembly declaring that no person who disbelieved the doctrines of the English church should be allowed to teach publicly or privately, or to preach the gospel within the limit of the state of Virginia. There were few Puritans in the colony, and they were excluded from places of trust, and some were driven from their homes. Thus all friendly relations with New England were broken off for years.

But to return to the government. As soon as it was known that Charles II was on the throne, Governor Berkeley issued writs in the name of the king for the election of a new assembly. The adherents of the commonwealth were quickly put out of office and replaced by the favorites of royalty. It was not long before the Virginians found that they had exchanged a republican tyrant of good principles for a monarchical tyrant with bad ones. The former commercial system was re-enacted in a worse form than before.

The new law required that all commercial transactions should be with English ships, and that tobacco, the staple of Virginia, could be sold in England only. King Charles II considered the British empire personal property and began to reward the profligates who surrounded him with grants of Virginia land. It was nothing unusual for an American farmer to find his farm given away to some courtier of the king. Great distress was occasioned by these unjust grants, and finally the king crowned his folly by giving away *the whole state* to his friends, Lord Culpepper and the Earl of Arlington, for thirty-one years.

The aristocratic party in the colony had obtained control of the house of burgesses and the new laws were as bad as those of England. A statute was passed against the Baptists, and the quiet and peaceful Quakers were fined and persecuted. Personal property was very heavily taxed, while the large estates were exempt. The salaries of the officers were secured by a tax on tobacco and the biennial election of burgesses was abolished. The people began to look about for a pretext to throw off the intolerable burden. "The Susquehanna Indians furnished occasion for an insurrection. The tribes about the Chesapeake bay had been attacked by the Senecas and driven from their homes." The Susquehannas now fell upon the whites in Maryland, and the Potomac became the scene of a border war. Maryland and Virginia stood by each other. John Washington, the grandfather of George Washington, took command of a company of militia against the Indians and compelled them to cry for peace. Six chieftains went

to Virginia as ambassadors and were murdered. The savages were maddened by this atrocity, and a terrible warfare raged the whole length of the frontier. Governor Berkeley sided with the Indians, but the colonists forgot all that the Indians had shown them in the past and, thirsting for revenge, remembered only the treachery of the Indians, and not that the whites had many times set the red men the example. There was a division in the people. The aristocrats sided with the governor and cried *peace*; while the popular party, led by young Nathaniel Bacon, were clamoring for war. Five hundred men were quickly mustered, and the march into the enemy's country began. Berkeley and his following were fiercely angry and proclaimed Bacon a traitor. Troops were levied to disperse the militia. But scarcely were Berkeley and his forces out of town till a popular uprising took place there, and he was compelled to return. Bacon came home victorious, the assembly was broken up and a new one elected on the basis of *universal suffrage*. Bacon was chosen a member and made commander-in-chief of the Virginian army. The governor refused to sign his commission, but Bacon appealed to the people, and the governor was compelled to yield, and also to sign a paper commending Bacon's loyalty, zeal and patriotism. On the frontier a military force was stationed and again peace reigned.

But Lord Berkeley was proud and full of revenge, anxiously watching for an opportunity to begin the struggle anew. So he went to Gloucester, where he summoned a convention of loyalists to meet him, and

they pronounced Bacon a traitor. On the eastern shore of the Chesapeake the governor's forces were collected. There were some English vessels in the harbor and their crews were joined to his command, and the fleet sailed to Jamestown. There was not much resistance; but when Bacon appeared, lo, the loyal forces joined his standard and Berkeley was obliged to flee for his life. The capital was held by the people's party. Soon the rumor got abroad that an English fleet was approaching to subjugate the colonies. It was decided among the leaders of the people's party to burn the city and have an end of the troubles originating there. So at eventide a torch was applied and the city reduced to ashes.

But Bacon fell sick and died. There was now no leader for the people's party. The royalists found a leader in Robert Beverly, the authority of the governor was restored, and the cause of the people died with Bacon. Berkeley seized twenty-two of the leading patriots and hanged them, scarcely allowing them time for prayers or farewells. Thomas Hansford was the first American who gave his life for freedom. History mentions the names of William Drummond, Edmund Cheesman and Thomas Wilfred as among the noble patriots who fell victims to the vengeful spirit of the tyrant Berkeley.

The assembly, horrified at this bloodshed, met and passed an act "that no more blood should be spilled." It is related of Charles II that when he heard of Berkeley's ferocity he exclaimed, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that poor country than I for the murder of my father."

The consequences of this rebellion were far-reaching. Berkeley and his minions found good excuse for suppressing all liberal principles. Education was forbidden. To speak or to write anything either in favor of the insurrection or against the administration was a crime punished by fine or whipping, and if the offense was three times repeated it was declared to be treasonable and might be punished with death. The scheme of taxation was again revived, and the people groaned under the arbitrary management.

In the year 1675 Lord Culpepper, to whom, with Arlington, Virginia had been given for thirty-one years, received the appointment of governor of Virginia for life. So the right of the king was relinquished and the state was now a proprietary government. In 1680 Culpepper took the magistrate's chair. His administration was characterized by avarice and dishonesty. Virginia being his personal property, he considered the inhabitants tenants and slaves. Arlington ceded his claim to Culpepper in 1683, so he was sole proprietor and governor. But Charles, now alarmed at the mischief he had done, revoked his patent, having sufficient excuses in his abominable frauds and vices; and again poor Virginia, who had been treated to as many varieties of government as the middle states are now to varieties of weather and temperature in a winter's day, was again a royal province and governed by Lord Howard of Effingham. After this affairs moved so quietly along that nothing worthy of mention took place.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE PILGRIM SETTLERS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

**I**N the spring (1621) the people grew hopeful. The sufferings of the past winter had been dreadful. In almost every home there had been one or more deaths. Those who survived had been half starved and frozen. Still they had something to be thankful for; they had worshipped God in their own way, and as the weather grew mild the general health of the colony improved. In February Miles Standish and his army (composed of six men) went on an exploring expedition. They were anxious to find how many Indians there were about them. They found none. There were, it is true, a few deserted wigwams, and there was smoke of camp fires in the distance, and savages were occasionally seen in the woods, but none near enough to speak to, and they fled at the sight of the white men.

It was only a month later when Samoset, a Wampanoag Indian, came running into the village bidding the habitants kindly welcome. He told them of the neighboring tribes and of the dreadful disease that came upon them, a slow wasting away until death took them to the land beyond the stars. Then another Indian named Squanto, who had been taken to England in 1614, came in, and as he spoke English he was very welcome and he too told them the same that Samoset had. These two friendly Indians had influence, so that friendly relations were established with

the Wampanoags. Massasoit was the sachem of the nation and he accepted an invitation to visit the Pilgrims at Plymouth. They received him with all the ceremony possible. The army (of six) was ordered out, General Miles Standish commanding. A treaty was made, Squanto acting as interpreter. The terms were few and simple. "There should be peace between the white and the red men. No injury should be done by either party to the other. All offenders should be given up to be punished. If the English engaged in war Massasoit would help them; and if the Wampanoags were unjustly attacked the English would give them assistance." This treaty was kept inviolate for fifty years. Other chiefs followed the example of Massasoit. Nine of these New England tribes acknowledged the English king. One chief did threaten war, but Standish and his army compelled him to be peaceable. Canonicus, who was the chief of the Narragansetts, sent to William Bradford, who became governor at the death of Carver, a bundle of arrows wrapped in a rattlesnake skin; but the governor, not at all dismayed, filled the skin with powder and bullets and sent it back to him. The chieftain feared to accept the challenge and it was passed from tribe to tribe, finally being returned to Plymouth. This was an unseasonable year and the poor people were at starvation's door, and new emigrants without provisions or stores came and the colonists divided their houses with them, as well as their food, all the long dreary winter. Once there were only a few grains of corn to be given to each individual, when some hogs belonging to the settlement rooted around



a hidden granary, probably belonging to some of the dead Indian families, and so saved them from starvation. Some English fishing vessels came to Plymouth, and seeing the sorry plight of the settlers offered their provisions at double price, which the starving colonists had to pay. In the summer of 1622 the late arrivals moved over to the south side of Boston harbor and founded Weymouth. These were an idle folk and they wasted the summer and fall in idleness. They attempted to appropriate the corn of the Indians, who were provoked to destroy the whole colony. Massasoit came to Standish and told him of the danger. The mighty general marched with his army upon the Indians and struck terror to their souls by killing several noted warriors and marching home, carrying the chief's head on a pole. This put an end to trouble from that source. The next year the harvest was a good one, so that the Pilgrims no longer feared starvation. The Indians did not like cultivating the soil; they preferred the chase, so there was an amicable interchange of fresh meat and fish for corn and vegetables.

In four years from the arrival of the Pilgrims there was a settlement of one hundred and eighty persons in New England. The company who had furnished the money for the Puritans' enterprise had expected to receive a good revenue, but nothing could be sent them, for the settlers were only removed from starvation by the merest thread. The London Company had expended \$3,400 in establishing this settlement. It was a very bad investment, and they proposed to sell out their claims to the colonists, who finally pur-

chased them for \$9,000. And then the manager refused to have more to do with them, charging them three prices for the provisions they brought, which compelled the colonists to borrow money, on which they paid sixty per cent interest.

John White, of Dorchester, England, brought out some emigrants and made a settlement at Cape Ann in 1624. Two years later the cape was abandoned and the company moved to Salem. John Endicott brought another company in 1628, he having been chosen governor. Charles II now issued a charter by which the colonists were incorporated under the title of *the governor and company of Massachusetts bay in New England*. The following July two hundred emigrants arrived, half of whom settled at Plymouth while the other half founded Charlestown, on the north side of the harbor. After this it was decreed that the government should be transferred from England to America, and the charter given in charge of the colonists themselves. When this became generally known emigration rapidly increased, and in 1630 nearly three hundred of the best Puritan families came to New England. These were highly educated, virtuous and courageous men and women, who had left comfortable homes without the expectation of returning. They chose a grand leader in John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts. He was a man of wealth, of intelligence, and refinement; yet he left all to share with the Puritans, their hardships and their worship. The new emigrants settled in various towns—some at Salem, some at Cambridge, some at Watertown (on Charles river), others at Roxbury and



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Dorchester. The governor resided at Charlestown for a while, but afterward crossed the peninsula to Shawmut and founded the city of Boston, which became the capital of the colony. Sickness and distress came to the poor people again as winter approached. Delicately nurtured men and women could ill bear the biting winds. Lung troubles and consumption, together with the coarse and insufficient fare, carried off so many that before the year was gone fully two hundred Puritans had "entered into eternal rest." Only those people who have passed a winter in the frontier districts of bleak New England can comprehend fully the terrors of the time when it is nothing unusual for the thermometer to drop thirty-six degrees below zero and the icy wind finds its way through every crevice, so that the heat from the fire seems to blow away. Corn as a regular diet is of such a heating nature that delicate stomachs are soon disarranged, and while venison and fowl and fish are delicious occasionally they soon pall upon the appetite when used as a steady diet. Yet there was no dissatisfaction expressed. They were *God's children*. He had sent them here and patiently would they wait his call.

But, strange to say, these people who braved death for freedom of religious belief were so narrow-minded that they persecuted those who believed other than themselves with severity. A law was passed that none but church members should be allowed to vote, and this excluded three-fourths of the citizens. Taxes were levied for the support of the gospel, and attendance on public worship enforced by law. Members of the church alone were eligible for office.

There was one man in the colony who lifted up his voice against the proscriptive law—Roger Williams a young man preaching the gospel at Salem. He declared that the conscience of man is not bound by the authority of the magistrate; that the civil government had only to do with civil matters; and for this he was compelled to step down from his pulpit. But he was not to be silenced, and in 1634 he wrote a paper in which he declared that grants of land, though given by the king of England, were invalid until the natives had been justly paid. When he was arraigned for teaching this abominable doctrine, he went still further, and told the court that a test of church membership for a voter was as ridiculous as the selection of a doctor of physic or a pilot of a ship on account of his skill in theology. These assertions raised such a furore in court that Williams was condemned for heresy and banished from the colony. In the mid-winter he left home and became an exile in the inhospitable forest. For fourteen weeks he wandered on through snow and sleet. At night he crawled into a hollow tree, or if there was not one to be had he made him a bed on the ground. His food was parched corn, acorns and roots, and in all his weary wanderings he carried as his precious treasure a letter from Governor Winthrop—a letter of cheer and encouragement. The Indians remembered him for defending their rights, and in the country of the Wampanoags he was kindly entertained. Massasoit invited him to his cabin at Pokanoket and the king of the Narragansetts, Canoncus, received him as a friend and brother.

A resting place was found on the left bank of Blackstone river, near the head of Narragansett bay. Here he pitched his tent, and in the spring planted a field and built himself a house, the first in the village of Seekonk. But he was soon notified that he was still within Plymouth territory. By this time he had five followers, who had joined him in banishment. He sailed down the river in a canoe and crossed to the west side of the bay. He was now outside the jurisdiction of Plymouth. He bought a piece of land from Canonicus and in June, 1636, he laid out the city of Providence. But, though banished, his teachings had not been lost. In 1634 a representative form of government was established against the opposition of the clergy. On election day the voters, now between three and four hundred, were called together and the learned Cotton discoursed long and powerfully against the proposed change. He was listened to apparently with deep interest, and the election went on—a ballot box being substituted for the old method of public voting. Three thousand emigrants arrived. The newcomers were under the leadership of Hugh Peters and Sir Henry Vane. The first named had been a Puritan pastor of English exiles at Rotterdam in Holland, and the latter a young nobleman of whom we read in English history. The settlements were growing thick around Massachusetts bay. There was really no house room for the emigrants constantly coming in. A company of twelve families with Simon Willard and Peter Bulkely at the head marched through the woods some sixteen miles till they came to some open meadows, which was to be the town of Concord.

Soon after this another colony of sixty persons marched to the west until they reached the Connecticut river. The march was a hard one. They were ill-provided for the rigors of the winter. Some of them died and some, quite disheartened, waded through the deep snows, half starved and frozen, to Plymouth and Boston. But with the spring those who survived were back and to their efforts is Massachusetts blessed with the towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, the first towns in the Connecticut valley. But religious war was on in Massachusetts. The banishment of Roger Williams, instead of quieting affairs, only stirred them up. The ministers were exceedingly exacting. Every shade of popular belief was scrutinized. Many were accused of heresy, and among them was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a brilliant woman. She desired to speak at the weekly debates and was refused. She was indignant and became the champion of her sex, declaring that the ministers were no better than Pharisees. She invited her friends to meet, and she plead with fervor for the freedom of conscience. The doctrines of Roger Williams were reaffirmed now with greater force than ever; indeed, many of the magistrates favored these heretical beliefs, and the governor espoused Mrs. Hutchinson's cause.

A synod of New England was called when Sir Henry's term of office expired. The synod convened in August, 1637, and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the first woman in America who claimed equal rights for her sex, was banished, as were her friends, many of whom went to Roger Williams. Miantonomah, a Narragan-



sett chief, gave them Rhode Island. So in 1641 there was a little republic where opinions were safe from persecution.

The general court of the colony in the year 1636 had passed an act appropriating between one and two thousand dollars to found a college. This act was commended by the people, for the Puritans were quick to appreciate the advantages of learning. Newtown was thought to be the best site. Plymouth and Salem gave money to help the enterprise. The villages in the Connecticut valley sent contributions of corn and wampum, and in 1638 John Harvard, of Charlestown, a minister, bequeathed his library and nearly \$5,000 to the school. To perpetuate his memory the institution was named Harvard College, and Newtown was changed to Cambridge. Surely a better selection for a school could never have been made. The original building and part of the brick wall around the grounds are in good preservation. Very many trees that shaded the grounds in the days of John Harvard are in good preservation yet, for insects or worms are not allowed to destroy the pride of Cambridge. Quiet reigns in Cambridge as it does on a Sabbath afternoon in the fields.

Stephen Daye, a printer, came from England to Boston and the next year set up a printing press in Cambridge. An almanac was the first American publication, bearing date of 1639. Thomas Welde and John Eliot, two ministers of Roxbury, and Richard Mather, of Dorchester, translated the Hebrew psalms into English verse. This was the first book printed in America.

And about this time the growth of the Puritan colonies struck Charles I and his ministers as something that ought to be checked, so they attempted to stop emigration. Eight vessels that were ready to sail from London were detained by royal authority. It is said that Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden were among those detained and that this act hastened the revolution which cost the monarch his life.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE FEDERATION.

**I**N 1643 a plan of union was adopted by which Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven were joined in a confederacy called "The United Colonies of New England. The chief authority was conferred upon an assembly composed of two representatives from each colony." All freemen voted by ballot and the delegates were elected annually. There was no president other than the speaker of the assembly. Provision was made for the admission of other colonies into the union, but none were ever admitted.

The "Body of Liberties" was the name of a statute prepared by Nathaniel Ward in 1641. This has been since considered the great charter of colonial freedom. To make the legislators independent and of equal authority, it was decreed "that the councilors and the representatives should sit apart, each with their own officers and under their own management." Between 1644 and 1652 there were many worries to the inhabitants, both from enemies in England and enemies in the new country, quarreling about land grants. The Protector was the friend of the American colonies and Sir Henry Vane deeply interested himself with their fate and used his influence in their favor. The villages of Maine were about to become the property of a man named Rigby, to whom the council of Plymouth had sold sixteen hundred acres about Casco, and England had

granted a charter to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, whose grant was still larger. In sore straits the settlers of Maine appealed to the court at Boston to settle the difficulty, and the province was annexed to Massachusetts.

In 1656 (the month was July) some Quakers, who were greatly deserving to live in a land where every man was entitled to his own opinions, began to arrive at Boston. The first two to arrive were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher. They were caught and carefully searched for witchcraft and, finding nothing specially wrong with them, they were carefully put in prison so as to be safe. But after several weeks of prison hardships they were brought out and ordered to leave the country, and before the year was out eight others were caught and sent straightway back whence they came. Then they made a law (these people who for their faith had suffered all sorts of persecutions) that Quakers who persisted in coming to Massachusetts *should have their ears cut off and their tongues bored through with a red hot iron.*

"Ann Burden, who came from London in 1657 to preach against persecution, was seized and beaten." Many were publicly beaten and then exiled or given the choice of being hanged. "Mary Dyar and Nicholas Davis chose banishment; but Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson stood firmly by their faith and were sentenced to be hanged." Mary Dyar who returned after being twice banished, was also hanged. Another Quaker, William Leddra, was also tried, condemned and hanged. While the trial of Leddra was going on Wenlock Christison rushed into the court room and reasoned with the judge about this

shedding of innocent blood. He too was condemned. Others who were anxious for martyrdom were thrown into the prisons till there was no room for criminals. At length the public conscience was aroused and the law was amended so that Christison and twenty-seven others were liberated.

The English Revolution was now ended. Charles II had ascended the throne. The news reached Boston on July 27, 1660; on board the ship were William Goffe and Edward Whalley, two of the judges who had passed sentence on Charles I. Governor Endicott received them with due courtesy. But soon another ship arrived bringing officers to arrest and carry them back to England. These men were fortunate enough to keep in hiding for a time and finally escaped to the village of Hadley, where they remained always.

When the restoration was complete Charles II passed a law forbidding New England colonists to trade with any but English ships. "Articles produced in the colonies and demanded in England should be shipped to England only; other articles might be disposed of in European ports. *The products of England should not be manufactured in America*, but should be bought from England only; and a *duty of five pence was put upon imports and exports.*" It was this duty that produced the American Revolution.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### INDUSTRIAL SITUATION, 1660.

**A**T this time wheat was the staple crop, but four years of successive growth caused it to become so damaged by blight and mildew that in 1662 the growth was abandoned. Corn was easily grown and so were potatoes and pumpkins, and good crops of barley were raised in Massachusetts in 1602. Rye was also grown as early as 1630. Peas and beans were also cultivated, as well as pumpkins. Flax was grown in the Dutch settlements of New Netherlands as early as 1626, and in Massachusetts in 1629, and in Virginia in 1647. Hemp was grown in New England in 1629. Rice was grown by Sir William Berkeley in Virginia in 1647, and in Carolina in 1694.

The first cattle brought to Massachusetts were by Governor Edward Winslow, in 1624, several heifers and a bull. Twelve cows were brought to Cape Ann in 1626, thirty more in 1629, and a hundred in 1630. These last were kept at Salem "for the governor and company of Massachusetts bay." The stock bred from the first importation was divided among the colonists three years later. The breed has not been given, but we are told they were black, white, and brindle.

John Mason imported several Danish cattle into New Hampshire in 1631-33. They were large and well adapted to bear the yoke and were of a uniform

yellow color, which hue was retained for a long time even though crossed with English breeds. In 1625 Pieter Eversten Hulst, in the interest of the Dutch West India Company, brought black and white cattle from the island of Troyet, off Holland. The Dutch in New Jersey got their cattle from New York. Virginia had cattle brought from the West Indies in 1610. Their killing was prohibited by Sir Ralph Lane. The next year a hundred head were sent from England and in 1620 the number of meat cattle in Virginia was about five hundred. They were larger, too, than the parent stock. Columbus brought the first cattle to the West Indies in 1493. They were of Spanish breed. Many were taken to Mexico and from them came our Texan stock. The French brought Norman cattle into Acadia in 1604 and into Canada in 1608. The Portuguese brought cattle to Newfoundland in 1553, but there are no signs of them now. Sheep were brought into Jamestown, Va., in 1609. They were imported into Massachusetts in 1633, and to protect them from wolves they were placed on the island in Massachusetts bay. De Soto brought swine from the West Indies to Florida in 1538. The Portuguese put swine on shore in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in 1553. They were in Jamestown, Va., in 1609 and multiplied so rapidly that pallisades had to be built to keep them out of the town.

Apple trees could not well be brought from England, but seeds were, and it is said that in the autumn of 1639 ten fair pippins were brought into Boston from trees growing on Governor's island in the harbor. Pears came nearly a century later, as did

peaches and plums and various other kinds of fruit.

Iron ore was found by Raleigh in Carolina, but it took the colonists a long time to find out that it was worth mining. Tobacco was so profitable that it was the only thing exported for nearly fifteen years. The first iron made in this country was from the bottom of peat bogs and ponds near the coast.

There were no facilities for spinning and weaving cloth in America for a long time. The settlers bought cloth from Dutch ships until the law forbidding buying anything from other than English ships; then the colonists grew poorer and poorer, for in 1760 they bought English goods to the amount of £2,500,000 and sold to England goods to the amount of £475,000. Then they took to wearing what had not been forbidden, *leather*. The women learned to weave and spin and made both woolen and linen clothing. There was no law to prevent these private enterprises, and knowing it, they worked so skilfully that besides supplying their own families they many times had pieces of linen or woolen to trade to the merchants. Women and children braided and sewed rye straw into hats and bonnets, but these were of no service in winter. So the governor of Virginia offered (in 1662) a premium of ten pounds of tobacco for every good wool hat or fur one made in his province. His hats at first were made with high crowns and very broad brims; then the crowns came down almost on a level with the brim. The original process of making felt and fur hats is worth copying: "In hat making, the fur of raccoons, beavers and rabbits is often mixed with the wool in small proportions. The right mix-



ture being obtained, it was first felted by a process called 'bowing.' The bunch of fleece was gathered in front of the operator and then violently agitated and then tossed into the air, by twanging the string of a stiff bow, and applying the string to the wool. The flying fibres would fall upon the table in a thin even web. This was pressed under a cloth and another layer put on until the fabric was thick enough to use. It was then put between two cloths and immersed in hot water, then pressed into a cone which was shaped upon a hat block, and allowed to dry in proper form when it was napped and finished for the store." One man could make from four to six hat bodies in a day. The beaver hats of the day were made of beaver fur.

Silk worms and mulberry trees were brought to Virginia in 1608, and so anxious was the government that the cultivation should prove successful that a fine of a hundred pounds of tobacco was assessed against any planter who did not cultivate at least ten mulberry trees to every hundred acres of his estate. But it was not profitable business. In Georgia the industry succeeded better. In South Carolina, while the yield was small, it was equal in quality to the best India silk. Silk worms were introduced into the northern States, but were not profitable.

A paper mill was started in the little village of Roxborough, near Philadelphia, in the year 1693. Writing, printing, and wrapping papers were made. Phosphorus was discovered in 1677, but it was a hundred years before it was utilized in making matches. So precious was fire that in all well regulated families it was never allowed to go out, and in the early days

of New England a minister's wife was greatly tormented by a shiftless neighbor, who sent continually to *borrow* a shovelful of coals. Now the energetic housewife, who spun, wove, dyed her husband's and childrens' clothing, and cut and made them as well, whose kitchen rafters were decorated with rows of dried pumpkins and bags of dried blueberries and raspberries, seed corn, peppers, etc., hated idleness as she did sin. She tried to impress the "slack" neighbor with the holiness as well as happiness of work, but in vain; and when the tall, loose-jointed youth appeared at her door for the twentieth time, "Marm wants to borry a few coals," a bright little towhead who had heard his mother express her opinion of the family replied, before his mother could reach the door, "Hadn't you better bring back the ones you have borrowed all summer?" and quietly closed the door. This put an end to that nuisance.

The first glass was made in Virginia very soon after the settlement. History says very little about it, however, but it appears that there was a factory about Jamestown and that they made glass beads for the Indian trade. This was in 1632, but as Jamestown was destroyed shortly after this, we do not hear again of such manufactures for a hundred and fifty years.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE WAR WITH PHILIP.

**I**N 1664 there was war between England and Holland. The English wanted the *whole* country and the little Dutch settlement on the Hudson was a provocation to them. To be sure, the land of America seemed unlimited, but all the same they wanted that particular portion that the Dutch had settled on. So they sent over four commissioners to America to settle colonial disputes, and to exercise authority in the name of King Charles II. (The real object was to obtain possession of the charter of Massachusetts.) In July, 1664, the royal judges arrived at Boston. They were not wanted. The people of Massachusetts knew that this supreme judgship was dangerous to the rights of self-government. It was July, 1664, when these royal judges arrived in Boston. The colonial charter, however, was in safe keeping, in the hands of a committee. The general court forbade the citizens answering to any summons issued by the royal judges. A letter full of manly protests was sent to the king. The commissioners were rejected in all the colonies except Rhode Island. Seeing that they could not fulfill the object he appointed them for, the English king recalled them, and for ten years the country had marked prosperity. The Indian king Massasoit died in 1662, and his son Alexander succeeded him, but died in a year, and the

chieftainship descended to the younger brother, Philip of Mount Hope. He was a brave man and his people had not been well treated by the whites and he felt that the time had come for a final struggle. The natives of New England had sold their lands; the whites had purchased them; the money had been paid and the deeds made out. The old man was dead, and the young men sighed for the hunting grounds. There were in the country east of the Hudson some twenty-five thousand Indians and twice as many whites. The young warriors could not understand the validity of titles to land. The sound of English axes had frightened the game away, and English nets had stolen the fish from their rivers. The Wampanoags now owned only the two peninsulas, Tiverton and Bristol.

There were personal grievances, too, for King Alexander's death was no doubt caused by the English. He had been arrested, tried by an English jury and thrown into jail, and caught the prison fever and died. It is believed by many that King Philip, if left to himself, would have still sought peace. He was a wise man, and being far from rich he clearly foresaw what the result of a war with the whites would be. But the young warriors lacked his wisdom. They thirsted for revenge and he could not restrain them.

The women and children were put in the care of Canonchet, king of the Narragansetts, and the war began at Swanzeey (Mass.) June 24th, 1675. Eight Englishmen were killed. This aroused the populace and within a week the militia of Plymouth, joined by

volunteers from Boston, entered the enemy's country. A few Indians were overtaken and killed, the troops marched to the peninsula of Bristol and compelled Philip to fly. He escaped to Tiverton with five or six hundred fugitives and hid in a swamp. They beat back the English with considerable loss. The English surrounded the place, but the Indians escaped in the night and fled to the country of the Nipmucks in central Massachusetts. A general Indian war broke out and for a whole year the frontier was in constant danger of burning and massacre.

After the English had driven Philip away, they marched to the Narragansetts, where the women and children of the Wampanoags were sheltered. King Canonchet was given his choice, peace or war. Afraid of the English muskets, he signed a treaty agreeing to give up all fugitives from the hostile tribe. Still the Indians expected that Canonchet would break his word and join Philip. The latter persuaded the Nipmucks to take up arms, and as usual they commenced hostilities with treachery. Captains Wheeler and Hutchinson were sent with twenty men to hold a conference with the Nipmuck chief. The Indians lay in ambush near the village and murdered nearly the whole company. The survivors fled to the settlement, gave the alarm, and the people escaped to the Block House for safety. After a siege of two days the Indians succeeded in firing the house with burning arrows and death seemed certain to the inmates. Providentially there came up a shower and the fire was extinguished. Reinforcements came from Springfield and the Indians fled. The people of

Brookfield were in danger and sought refuge in the towns along the river. A battle was fought at Deerfield on the 26th of August and the Indians were driven away, but a few days later returned and set fire to the village and part of it was consumed. A store house containing the harvest was saved, however, and Colonel Lathrop with eighty men commenced the task of removing the stores to Hadley. A train of wagons guarded by soldiers left Deerfield on the 18th of September and had scarcely proceeded five miles when they were attacked by some eight hundred Indians lying in ambush. Nearly every white man was killed. Captain Mosely arrived while the fight was going on with seventy more men. The battle kept on, the English retreating in the direction of Hadley, when they were reinforced by a hundred and sixty English and Mohicans, who put the savages to rout with heavy loss. On the same day as the burning of Deerfield, Hadley was attacked while the people were at church. Frightened beyond measure, the people knew not what to do until the venerable General Goffe came from his place of concealment, rallied the forces around him, drove the Indians away and then fled to his place of concealment and was nevermore seen again. Through the fall there was fighting at Springfield, Hadley and Hatfield. The Indians were repulsed from the latter place with heavy losses. It was no longer safe to live on the farms, and so they were abandoned and the people came to the larger cities near the river.

Philip gathered his warriors and repaired to the Narragansetts. By receiving them Canonchet vio-

lated his treaty with the English, but he chose to share his fate with Philip and Massachusetts at once declared war against the Narragansetts and Rhode Island was invaded by the colonist army of a thousand men led by Colonel Winslow. The Indians encamped on an elevation in the middle of a cedar swamp. There were three thousand of them. Into this place was gathered all the wealth of the two nations. The wigwams extended over several acres of solid land in the middle of the swamp. A fort was built on the island and the breastworks were of felled trees. The savages thought themselves secure from invasion.

It was the 19th of December before the English forces reached the fort. The only entrance to the fort was over a fallen tree. A few brave men sprang forward only to be swept down by the Indians' muskets. Another company crept around the defences, and finding a point unguarded charged into the inclosure. The fight had now begun in earnest. The wigwams were set on fire and the flames swept around the village. The Indians, attempting to escape from the burning fort, were met by the English with loaded muskets. More than a thousand warriors were killed or captured. The wounded, the old men, the women and children of the nation were burned to death. The loss to the English was eighty soldiers killed and a hundred and fifty wounded. Philip and a handful of his warriors escaped to the Nipmucks.

The next spring brought a renewal of the war again. Around three hundred miles of frontier, from Maine to the mouth of the Connecticut, there were massacres

and devastations. Lancaster, Medfield, Groton and Marlborough were laid in ashes. Weymouth, *within twenty miles of Boston*, was destroyed. Traces of fire and murder were everywhere. But the resources of the savages were soon exhausted, and their numbers rapidly grew less. In April Canonchet was captured on the banks of the Blackstone and put to death. His wife and son were made prisoners. The son was sold as a slave and died in the Bermudas, whither he had been taken. Philip's command was nearly all gone. A company of soldiers surrounded him in his home near Mount Hope. Since his wife and son had been taken prisoners, he cared nothing for life. A treacherous Indian shot him through the breast. The king was dead. The enemies were no more and New England was now at peace. She had suffered terribly in this war. The losses amounted to some five hundred thousand dollars. Thirteen towns and six hundred dwellings had been consumed. Six hundred men had died upon battle fields.

But now the Indians beyond the Connecticut came and pleaded for their lives. The colonists returned to their farms and villages. Many hoped that the English government would assist in repairing the damages, but instead came Edward Randolph, with authority to collect duties in New England. Governor Leverett received the ambassador with chilling dignity. He told him that the people had finished the Indian war without expense to the English treasury, and that they were now entitled to the enjoyment of their rights, and Randolph returned to England.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### WAR AND PERSECUTION.

**A**BOUT this time (1665) there was trouble about the province of Maine. Ferdinand Gorges, the old proprietor, was dead; but his heirs still claimed the territory. Long before this the inhabitants of Maine had placed themselves under authority of Massachusetts, but the heirs of Gorges put the matter before the English council, and in 1677 a decision was given in their favor. The Boston government had offered to purchase the claims of the Gorges heirs. The proposition was accepted, and for the sum of twelve hundred and fifty pounds the province was transferred to Massachusetts.

There was similar trouble with New Hampshire. In 1662 the Plymouth council had granted New Hampshire to Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. Seven years later Gorges surrendered his claim to Mason, who was now sole proprietor. But this territory was still governed by Massachusetts. Mason died, and in 1679 his son Robert came forward and claimed the province. This cause was also taken before the ministers, who decided that the title of Mason was valid.

This was a very great disappointment to the people of both provinces. The two governments were separated. A royal government was established and Edward Cranfield became governor. The people, how-

ever, refused to recognize Cranfield's authority. The king thought the people were influenced by Massachusetts, and directed his judges to inquire whether the charter of Massachusetts might not be revoked. In 1684 the royal judges decided in his majesty's favor. The patent was forfeited and "the king might assume control of the colony," said the judges; but the king died before the charter could be revoked.

James II, younger brother of Charles, now became monarch, and in 1686 the scheme was carried out. The charter of Massachusetts was formally revoked. All the colonies between Nova Scotia and Narragansett bay were consolidated and Sir Edmund Andros appointed royal governor of New England. It was said of Andros that King James could hardly have found a better tool in his province. It was enacted that nothing could be printed in Massachusetts without the governor's sanction. Popular representation was abolished, voting by ballot done away with, town meetings prohibited, and the public schools allowed to go to ruin.

The despotism of Andros was quickly extended from Cape Cod bay to the Piscataqua. The civil rights of New Hampshire were quite overthrown. In May of 1686 the charter of Rhode Island was taken away and her constitution subverted. The seal was broken and a royal council appointed to conduct the government. Andros next proceeded to Connecticut. He arrived in Hartford in 1687. The month was October. The assembly was in session. He demanded the surrender of the charter. The instrument was brought in and laid upon the table. A debate ensued

and continued until evening. When it was about to be decided that the charter should be given up every candle was suddenly extinguished, and before other lights could be brought in *the charter had disappeared*. Joseph Wadsworth, snatching up the parchment, carried it swiftly away through the darkness and concealed it in a hollow tree, which for nearly two centuries afterward was known as the Charter Oak. The assembly, however, was overawed, and the authority of Andros established throughout the country. But his dominion ended speedily. The English revolution was about at hand. James II was driven from his throne, and the system of arbitrary rule which he had established fell with it. The news of the ascension of William and Mary was received in Boston on the 4th of April, 1689, and on the 18th the citizens of Boston rose in open rebellion. Andros was arrested and marched to prison. The insurrection spread like sunshine and before the 10th of May New England had regained her liberties.

The war between France and England was declared in 1689. This is known in history as *King William's war*. When James II fled from his kingdom he took refuge at the court of Louis XIV of France. The two kings were both Roman Catholics, and on this account an alliance was made between them. Louis agreed to help James II in his efforts to recover the English crown. Parliament in the meantime had conferred the crown on King William. So the new sovereign was in conflict with two monarchs. The war, originating in Europe, soon extended to the French and English colonies in America.

The frontier of New Hampshire was the first scene of the struggle. The 27th of June, 1689, a party of Indians in alliance with the French made a descent upon Dover. Richard Waldron, the magistrate of the town, now over eighty years of age, was murdered, twenty-three others were killed, and twenty-nine made captives and dragged away through the wilderness. A hundred Abenakis came down the Penobscot in August and attacked the village of Pemaquid—now Bremen. A company of farmers were surrounded in the harvest field and murdered. The fort was besieged and compelled to surrender. A few of the people escaped into the woods; the rest were killed or made captives.

The English and Mohawks entered into an alliance, but the latter refused to make war upon their countrymen of Maine. The Dutch settlements of the New Netherlands, however, made common cause with the English settlers against the French.

A regiment of French and Indians left Montreal in January, 1690, crossed the Mohawk, and reached the village of Schenectady. They crept through the gates at midnight, startled the sleepers with the war whoop, and murdered right and left. The dead were scalped. Those who escaped were but half clad and they ran through the darkness and snow sixteen miles to Albany. Salmon Falls, a settlement on the Piscataqua, was next attacked and destroyed. The fort at Casco bay was taken and all the settlement broken up.

New England became aroused. In order to provide the means of war, a congress was convened at New York, and at this congress it was resolved to attempt

to conquer Canada. At the same time Massachusetts was to co-operate by sending a fleet up the St. Lawrence against Quebec. The fleet was composed of thirty-four vessels carrying two thousand soldiers. The command was given to Sir William Phipps. He compelled a surrender at Port Royal and the whole of Nova Scotia submitted without a struggle. The expedition to Canada was foolishly delayed until October and an Indian carried the news to the governor of Canada and he was so well prepared in his castle as to bid defiance to the English. The only thing for Commander Phipps to do was to sail back to Boston. Money was necessary to meet the expenses, so Massachusetts issued bills of credit which were made legal tender, and this was the origin of paper money in America. During this time the land forces had proceeded from Albany to Lake Champlain. There dissensions arose among the commanders and the expedition had to be abandoned.

Sir William Phipps was ordered to England to procure aid from the government and to secure a re-issue of the old colonial charter. But the English ministers replied that the English armies could not be spared, and that the old patent would not be released. Sir William returned to Boston in the spring of 1692 commissioned as royal governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine and Nova Scotia.

But still the war went on. The village of Oyster River was destroyed by the savages in 1694, and the inhabitants either killed or taken into captivity. Some two years later the village of Pemaquid was a second time surrendered to the French and Indians. The

captives were sent to Boston and exchanged for prisoners held by the English. In the following March Haverhill was captured under atrocious circumstances. Nearly forty persons were butchered in cold blood. A few were spared to captivity. Among them was Mrs. Hannah Dusten. Her week-old babe was dashed against a tree. The heart-broken mother and her nurse and a lad named Leonardson were taken by the savages to an island in the Merrimac, and here, while their twelve captors were asleep, the three prisoners arose and with hatchets struck ten of them crushing blows on the temples so that they lay still forever. Then embarking in a canoe they dropped down the river and reached the English settlement in safety.

The war was already at an end. Commissioners assembled at the town of Ryswick in Holland early in 1697, and a treaty was concluded on the 10th of the following September. King William was acknowledged the rightful king of England and the colonial boundary lines of the two nations in America were established as before.

In February of 1692, in the part of Salem called Danvers, a daughter and a niece of the minister, Samuel Parris, were attacked with a nervous disorder which rendered them partially insane. Parris pretended to believe that they were bewitched, and that that an Indian maid servant was the cause of the affliction. He had seen her at some of her religious ceremonies and that gave color to his suspicions. So to rid her of the devil of which he was sure she was possessed he firmly tied the ignorant creature and whipped her till she was glad to confess herself a witch,

though she had no idea what that meant. Now Parris was not exactly in harmony with his church. Part of the congregation, led by George Burroughs, a former minister of the church, disbelieved in witchcraft, while Parris and the rest thought such disbelief the height of wickedness. The celebrated Cotton Mather, minister of Boston, had preached much on the subject of witchcraft. He thought that witchcraft should be stopped and witches put to death. Sir William Phipps was a member of Cotton Mather's church, and it is said these two men are to blame for the cruel murders that followed. Stoughton, the deputy-governor, was the tool of Parris and Mather. The laws of England and of Massachusetts made witchcraft punishable with death. Early in the colonial settlement one person charged with being a wizard had been arrested at Charlestown, tried and executed. But many people had by this time grown bold enough to denounce the superstition, and something had to be done, so reasoned the wise governor and learned minister, to save witchcraft from the contempt it was likely to fall into. A special court was appointed by Phipps to go to Salem and judge those persons accused by Parris. Stoughton was to be the presiding officer, Parris the prosecutor, and Mather the bishop to decide when the testimony was sufficient to condemn.

The proceedings began on the 21st of March. Mary Cory was arrested, brought before the court, charged, convicted, and hurried away to prison. Sarah Cloyce and Rebecca Nurse, two innocent sisters, were next apprehended, the only evidence against them being a half-witted Indian woman and the niece of Parris.

These women went to prison protesting their innocence. Giles Cory was eighty years of age, but his life-long benevolence and snowy hair did not save him. Edward Bishop, a farmer, and his wife were next arrested, tried and condemned. George Burroughs was accused and arrested and imprisoned. Every one who had a spite against another declared him or herself to be bewitched by the offending party. In the hopes of saving their lives many confessed to being witches. It was soon found that *those who denied the reality of witchcraft were to be put to death*. Five women were hanged in one day. Between June and September twenty victims died on the altar of superstition, and *fifty-five were tortured to make false confessions*. A hundred and fifty lay in prison awaiting their doom. Two hundred were accused or suspected, and ruin seemed to hang over New England. But the reaction came. The court which Phipps had appointed to sit in Salem was dismissed. The prisons were opened, the poor victims of superstition went out of their dark abodes free. The next year a few persons were arrested and tried, but no more lives were sacrificed. Many of the participants in these dreadful scenes repented them of the wrong they had done, but repentance could not bring the dead to life again. Mather attempted to justify himself by writing a book in which *he expressed his "thankfulness that so many witches had met their just doom."* And the president of Harvard College approved the Rev. Cotton Mather's book.

It was only four years after the treaty between France and England at Ryswick till they were again



involved in war which extended to the colonies. King Charles II of Spain died in 1700, after naming Philip of Anjou his successor (a grandson of Louis XIV). This measure looked like a union of France and Spain and at once aroused the jealousy of Holland, Austria and England. The Archduke Charles of Austria was put forward as a candidate for the Spanish throne and war was declared against Louis XIV for supporting Philip.

James, England's exiled king, died in 1701 at the court of Louis, who recognized James as the rightful sovereign of England. The English court felt this to be an insult to England's nationality. King William made preparations for war, but died before he was enabled to carry out his plans. William died in May, 1702, and his sister-in-law Anne, daughter of James II. became queen of England. Her conflict with France is known as Queen Anne's war. Ridpath suggests that "a better name would be the war of the Spanish succession."

But to return to America. The powerful five nations south of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence made a treaty of neutrality with both the French and English in 1701. The Abenakis of Maine did the same, but the French prevailed on them to break their treaty, and the first notice of their treachery was, as usual, a massacre. In a single day the whole country between the town of Wells and Casco was a scene of butchery and burning. The town of Deerfield was destroyed in the middle of the winter of 1703-4 by three hundred French and Indians. Forty-seven inhabitants were tomahawked and a hundred and

twelve were taken in captivity, Many of the prisoners were women and children. They were forced to march to Canada. The weather was severe, their sufferings intense. Sweet Eunice Williams, the minister's wife, fainted by the way. A savage dashed out her brains with his hatchet. Those who survived this dreadful march were afterwards ransomed, and returned to their home. A daughter of Mr. Williams remained among the Mohawks, married a chieftain and in after years returned to Deerfield in her Indian garb. But she loved her brown husband and the sighing trees and murmuring waters, songs of birds and all manner of wild things. So she left the haunts of civilization never to return.

For a long time a border war existed in Maine and New Hampshire. A fleet bearing a thousand soldiers was made ready at Boston and sent against Port Royal. But again the English had to come back ; the fort was so well protected that it was useless to attempt its destruction. But in 1710 a fleet of English and American vessels numbering thirty-six, with four thousand troops aboard, sailed against Port Royal. This time the garrison was weak. Famine came, and after a weak defence the place surrendered, and now all Nova Scotia became subject to the queen and Port Royal was named Annapolis in her honor.

Since they had been so successful with Nova Scotia they made preparations to invade Canada. There were to be simultaneous attacks. A land force was to march against Montreal commanded by General Nicholson. Fifteen men of war and forty transports were placed under command of Sir Hovenden Walker

for the destruction of Quebec, and seven regiments of veterans from European armies were added to the colonial forces and sent out with them on this expedition. But learning nothing by past procrastination, they delayed six weeks in Boston and on July 30th they set sail for the St. Lawrence. They proceeded up the river, but on the 22d of August they were enveloped in a mighty fog, a great gale came up and eight of the best vessels were dashed against the rocks and eight hundred and eighty-four men went down to their death. The remaining ships sailed back to England and the troops returned to Boston and were disbanded. In the meantime the troops commanded by General Nicholson had marched against Montreal, but in the news of the failure of the fleet the land expedition was abandoned. The folly of Walker had brought the campaign to a shameful end. France had already made overtures for peace ; a treaty was concluded at Utrecht, a town of Holland, and by the terms of settlement England obtained control of the fisheries of New Foundland, Labrador, the Bay of Hudson, and Nova Scotia was deeded to Great Britain. This was in 1713, and the treaty was signed April 11th. On the 13th of July following a second treaty with the Indians was secured throughout the American colonies.

After the times known as Queen Anne's war the people were much dissatisfied with the royal governors, and there arose a controversy about the salaries of these men. The assembly insisted that these people should be paid in proportion to the importance of office and the amount of work performed. But the

royal commissions gave to each officer a fixed salary, which was in many instances out of proportion to the work required. The difficulty was finally compromised in which the advantage was on the side of the people. It was agreed that the salaries of the royal officers should be annually allowed and the amount fixed by vote of the assembly.

In 1740 Charles VI of Austria breathed for the last time and there were two claimants for his throne, Maria Theresa, his daughter, and Charles Albert of Bavaria, and in the conflict which followed nearly all the nations of Europe participated. England and France were again arrayed against each other. This war is known to Americans as King George's war, for George II was now king of England. The only event of moment to America was the capture of Cape Breton. It stands in the mouth of the St. Lawrence and was considered the key to Canada. All the northern colonies joined forces and Commodore Warren, commanding the English fleet in the West Indies, joined the expedition. The siege lasted from the 23rd of April until the 18th of June. By the terms of surrender Louisberg and Cape Breton were given up to England. There was great rejoicing among the English colonies and proportionate indignation among the French. Louisberg must be taken at all hazards, cried the French. The next year a powerful fleet left France, but before it reached American shores the commander died. Storm and disaster drove the fleet to ruin and when another expedition was sent out in 1747 it too met with many misfortunes. A treaty of peace was finally concluded.





## CHAPTER XVII.

### NEW YORK.

FOR ten years after the first settling of New Amsterdam the Dutch East India Company's director governed the colony. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was organized, and Manhattan island passed at once under control of the new organization. There were only a few huts on the island, but in April, 1623, the ship *New Netherland*, with thirty families on board, arrived at New Amsterdam. The colonists, called *walloons*, were Dutch Protestant refugees from Flanders. The leader was Cornelius May. Most of the emigrants settled with their friends on Manhattan, but a party of fifty, with the captain, explored the coast of New Jersey and the bay of Delaware. A site was selected a few miles below Camden and a block house built called Fort Nassau. A little later in the same year the Dutch Captain Joris ascended the Hudson to Castle island, where Christianson had built the older Fort Nassau. A great flood in the river had swept away all traces of the fort. So he sailed a little farther up and rebuilt the fortress on the present site of Albany. The name of this northern outpost was changed to Fort Orange. Eighteen families were settled here permanently. Cornelius May the leader of the colonists who arrived in 1623, was made governor of the colony of Manhattan. His duties were such as belong to a

trading-post only. In 1625 William Verhulst became director of the settlement and in January of the next year Peter Minuit was appointed by the Dutch West India Company governor of New Netherlands. In May the island, containing more than twenty-five thousand acres, was purchased by the Dutch from the natives for *twenty-four dollars*. A block house was erected on the northern point of land and surrounded with pallisades. New Amsterdam by this time had thirty houses. From the first the Dutch of New Amsterdam and the Pilgrims of Plymouth were warm friends. An embassy was sent in 1627 by Minuit to Plymouth with expressions of courtesy and good will. The Puritans were invited to remove to the valley of the Connecticut. Governor Bradford replied with words of sympathy. The Dutch were advised of the claims of England to the country of the Hudson and the inhabitants of New Netherlands were cautioned to obtain new land titles from the council of Plymouth.

The colony of Manhattan grew fast. In 1628 it numbered two hundred and seventy. All energies were devoted to the fur trade, and the prospects of the colony were very promising. The West India Company framed a charter of privileges in 1629. Under this a class of proprietors called *patroons* were authorized to colonize the country. The conditions were that the estates should be held as dependencies of Holland that each patroon should purchase his estate of *the Indians*, and that he should establish a colony of not less than fifty persons.

Five estates were immediately laid out—three in



the valley of the Hudson, the fourth on Staten Island, and the fifth in the southern half of Delaware. Samuel Godyn was the patroon of this estate, but the manager was David de Vries. He brought thirty emigrants to Delaware bay. In the spring of 1631, the company selected as a site for their new home territory close to the mouth of Louis creek. The place was called Lewistown and is the oldest settlement in Delaware.

De Vries returned to Holland, leaving Hosset in charge, but under his management the colony was soon ruined. Hosset treated the natives unjustly. They became incensed and fell upon the colony, destroying it utterly. Nothing remained of it but ashes. Minuit was superseded by Wouter van Twiller in April of 1633. The Dutch had erected a block house at Hartford some three months previously, and in October of the same year an armed vessel from Plymouth had sailed up the river and defied the Dutch commander. The English sailed up the stream to the mouth of the Farmington, where they built Fort Windsor. Two years later, by building a fort at Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut, they had entire control of the river both above and below the Dutch fort.

But about this time the king of Sweden thought he would like to have colonies in the beautiful land of freedom. Gustavus Adolphus, who was a Protestant, became involved in a war and was killed in battle before he could carry out his plans. But the Swedish minister took up the work as his king had planned. The charter of the company was renewed, and after

four years the enterprise succeeded. It was late in the year 1637 when a company of Swedes and Finns left the harbor of Stockholm and in February arrived in Delaware bay. The country from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls was purchased honorably of the Indians, and the territory was called New Sweden. The spot chosen for the settlement was on the left bank of a tributary to the Brandywine, a river noted for beautiful scenery. The emigrants were industrious and soon were provided with comfortable homes. The creek and the fort were both named after the gentle maiden queen Christina. In a short time other emigrants arrived and soon the banks of the river and bay were dotted with thrifty hamlets. But the authorities of New Amsterdam were jealous of their new neighbors and warned them of their intrusion into the Dutch valley. Still the Swedes went on enlarging their borders. Kieft, who had succeeded Governor Van Twiller, grew very indignant at their aggressions, and sent a party to rebuild Fort Nassau, on the old site below Camden. The Swedes adopted measures for defence. They ascended the river to within six miles of the mouth of the Schuylkill, where they landed; and on the island called Tinicum, a short distance below Philadelphia, they landed and immediately constructed a stout fort of hemlock logs and at this fort in 1643 Governor Printz established his residence.

New Netherland became involved in a war with the Indians in 1640. Dishonest traders had made the Indians drunk and then defrauded them. So the savages of Jersey shore determined to destroy the whites, and crossed over to Staten Island, burning

houses and killing men, women and children. New Amsterdam was quickly put into state of defence against the savages. The war degenerated on both sides into treachery and murder. The kindly and honest Roger Williams tried to make peace. A truce was obtained, but immediately broken. A chieftain's son, who had been robbed, went to the nearest settlement and killed the first Hollander he met. Governor Kieft demanded the criminal. The chiefs refused to give him up. About this time a party of Mohawks came down the river and appealed to the governor of New Netherland for assistance in driving away the Algonquins, who were settled near New Amsterdam. Kieft saw an opportunity of wholesale destruction. A company of soldiers set out for Manhattan and discovered the Algonquin camp. The place was surrounded in the darkness of night, and the first the Algonquins knew of danger was the crash of musketry. Nearly a hundred of them were killed by those to whom they had come for aid.

Now when it was known that the Dutch, and not the Mohawks, had committed this outrage, the war was renewed with fury. The Indians divided themselves into small parties and hid themselves in the woods. Then they surrounded farm houses, killing the inmates and burning the houses. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was living with her son-in-law in the valley of the Housatonic. Her house was surrounded and every member of the family killed except one child, and Mrs. Hutchinson was burned alive. Thus did the Indians repay the Dutch for their treachery.

Captain John Underhill was appointed commander

of the Dutch forces. He commenced by invading New Jersey and conquering the Delawares. A sharp and decisive battle was fought on Long Island and another at Greenwich in western Connecticut. The power of the Indians was finally broken, and the Iroquois came forward with proposals of peace. Both parties were weary of the long war. It had brought ruin to both. On the 30th of August, 1645, a treaty was concluded at Fort Amsterdam.

It is stated on good authority that all the consequences of innocent blood shedding may be traced to Governor Kieft. Many times had his people desired to make peace with the Indians, but the project had always been defeated by the governor, and as soon as the war was ended petitions for his removal were circulated and signed by the people. The West India Company revoked his commission and appointed Peter Stuyvesant to succeed him in 1647. Kieft sailed for Europe, but his ship was wrecked off the coast of Wales and he found a watery grave.

It was the 11th of May, 1647, when Peter Stuyvesant entered upon his duties. He continued in office continuously seventeen years. His policy was to conciliate the Indians. So cordial and even intimate were their relations that they were suspected of making common cause against the English. Massachusetts became alarmed. Such an alliance might mean the direst of mischief to her. But her alarm was needless. Stuyvesant's policy was on noble principles.

The West India Company had since the settlement of the New Netherlands exclusive monopoly of the commerce of that settlement. In 1648 this monopoly

was abolished, and regular export duties were substituted. That the change was beneficial was soon apparent in the improvements of the Dutch colony.

Stuyvesant predicted (in a letter to the secretary of the West India Company) that "the commerce of New Amsterdam should cover every ocean, and the ships of all nations crowd into her harbor," but this did not come to pass for many years. The upper part of the island was still divided among the farmers and Central Park was a forest of oaks and chestnuts. The boundary was fixed between New England and New Netherland in 1650. The line extended across Long Island north and south, passing through Oyster Bay, and thence to Greenwich on the other side of the sound. From this line north the boundary line was nearly identical with the present state line of Connecticut on the west. This treaty was ratified by the colonies, by the West India Company, by the states-general of Holland, but England treated the matter with perfect indifference.

Stuyvesant was disposed to subdue the colony of New Sweden, so in 1651 an armament left New Amsterdam for the Delaware. Fort Casimir was built on the present site of New Castle, and was garrisoned with Dutch soldiers. This fort was almost in sight of the little city of Christiana. It was evident that the Dutch meant war, so Rising, the governor of the Swedes, waited patiently until the fort was completed, then captured the place by stratagem and put the flag of Sweden over it. But the triumph was very short, for the West India Company immediately ordered Stuyvesant to compel the surrender of the

Swedes. So in the month of September, 1655, the kind-hearted, but firm Stuyvesant, at the head of six hundred troops, sailed against New Sweden. And before the 25th of the month every fort belonging to the Swedes had surrendered. Honorable terms were granted to all and in a few days the authority of the New Netherlands was established and New Sweden was known no more.

While Stuyvesant was bringing the Swedes to terms the Algonquins rose in rebellion. They suddenly appeared before New Amsterdam in a fleet of sixty-four canoes, whooping and yelling and discharging arrows. They paddled about for a time and then went on shore and began to burn and murder. Very soon the Dutch armament returned, and then the Indians began to sue for peace, which Stuyvesant granted on better terms than they deserved; for in 1663 the town of Kingston was attacked and destroyed by Indians. Sixty-five of the inhabitants were tomahawked or carried into captivity. This outrage was punished immediately. A strong force was sent from New Amsterdam. The Indians fled to the woods, closely pursued by the Dutch, who burned their wigwams and killed every warrior who could be overtaken. A treaty of peace was signed in May of 1664.

Poor Governor Stuyvesant was kept very busy in defending his country from other nations who seemed bound to trespass upon it, and worst of all there was discord among his own people. For several years the Dutch had watched the growth and apparent prosperity of New England. There were excellent schools in

Massachusetts and in Connecticut. But the academy of Manhattan after a career of two years was abandoned. In New Netherland heavy taxes were levied for the support of the poor. New England *had no poor*. The Dutch were jealous of their neighbors and attributed their lack of success to the West India Company. But worse things were to come. March 12th, 1664, the duke of York received a patent from Charles II granting him the whole country between the Connecticut and the Delaware, regardless of the rights of the West India Company or of Holland. It was through the West India Company's exertions that the Hudson valley had been settled. Holland had well earned her province. But the duke of York, believing that might makes right, at once set about claiming his gift. Richard commanded an English squadron which put off at once for America. The fleet anchored before New Amsterdam on the 28th of August. The Dutch council was immediately convened by Governor Stuyvesant, who exhorted them to *rouse to action and fight*. Some one replied that "*the West India Company was not worth fighting for*." Stuyvesant was indignant beyond words. Snatching Nicolls' proposal, he tore it in fragments. But all his efforts were in vain. He was forced to sign the capitulation and on the 8th of September, 1664, New Netherland was an empty name. The English flag was hoisted over the fort and town, and New York was substituted for New Amsterdam. The surrender of Fort Orange followed on the 24th and the name was changed to Albany, and on October 1st the Swedish and Dutch settlements along the

Delaware capitulated. The conquest was complete. From Maine to Georgia floated the English flag.

Richard Nicolls was appointed the first governor of New York. He at once began his duties by settling boundaries. In 1623 Lord Stirling had received a patent for Long Island. Connecticut claimed that part of the island now the county of Suffolk. The governor bought Sterling's claims, but refused to recognize Connecticut's, and simply set them aside. This made a great deal of unpleasant feeling until the duke of York made compensation by a favorable change in her south-west boundary.

The territory between the Hudson and the Delaware was granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret in 1664. This district was almost the same as New Jersey and was taken from New York and a separate government established by the proprietors. The territories, as the country below the Delaware was called, consolidated with New York, and at length the title of New York belonged to all that had once been New Netherland.

It was the hope and belief that civil liberty would be theirs that had caused the Dutch to surrender to the English government, but little liberty could be expected from Charles II. He promised, but did not fulfill. The old titles by which the Dutch held their farms he annulled. He compelled the people to accept new deeds from the government of England and to pay large prices for them. Lord Lovelace, much more tyrannical than Nicolls, succeeded him as governor in 1667. Gloom and almost despair settled upon the people. Several towns resisted the tax



gatherers and resolutions were passed denouncing the government. Lord Lovelace caused these resolutions to be burned before the town house of New York. The Swedes were a patient, long-suffering people, and they wrote him a little letter of entreaty. The noble lord ordered his deputy thus: "If there is any more murmuring among this people against the taxes, make them so heavy that they can think of nothing but how to pay them."

The king of France persuaded the reckless Charles II to begin a war with Holland. The struggle extended to the colonies, and New York was revolutionized for a short time. Manning was then the governor of New York, and awoke one morning to find the harbor in possession of a Dutch fleet. He was frightened and made no defense. The fort was surrendered, the city capitulated, the whole province yielded without a struggle. New Jersey and Delaware submitted. The name of New Netherland was revived, and the authority of the land was restored from Connecticut to Maryland. The conquest after all was only a brief military occupation of the country. The *civil* authority of the Dutch was never re-established. Charles II, however, was obliged to conclude a treaty of peace in 1674. All conquests made through the war were restored. New York reverted to the English government and the rights of the duke were again recognized. Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor. All the abuses which Lovelace had been hated for were revived. Taxes were levied without the slightest regard to law, and the protests of the people were laughed to scorn. The people

demanded a popular legislative assembly and Andros was advised by York that "popular assemblies were dangerous to the government and *he did not see any use for them.*" Andros was anxious to extend his realm, and in July of 1675 he attempted to take Connecticut under his charge. The people heard of his coming and word was sent to Captain Bull, of Saybrook, to resist his coming in the name of the king; so when Andros came in sight bearing the English colors he saw them floating over the fort. The governor was allowed to land, but when he began to read his commission he was ordered in the king's name to desist. The militia of Saybrook was out and the governor thought it wisdom to withdraw to his boats and set sail for Long Island. He next attempted jurisdiction over New Jersey. He issued a decree that ships trading with that province should pay duty to the custom house in New York. This action was promptly resisted. Andros attempted to frighten the assembly of New Jersey into submission, and he arrested Peter Carteret, the deputy governor. The representatives of the people declared themselves "under the protection of the great charter, which not even the duke of York could alter or annul."

William Penn was granted the territories beyond the Delaware in 1682 by the duke of York. This small district—first settled by the Swedes, then conquered by the Dutch, again transferred to England—was now finally separated from New York and joined to the new province of Pennsylvania.

Thomas Dongan, a Roman Catholic, became governor of New York in 1683. For thirty years the

people had been demanding a general assembly. At last the duke of York yielded to the demand. The new governor came with instructions to call an assembly of the free holders of New York, by whom certain persons should be elected to take part in the government. For the first time the people of the province were permitted to choose their rulers and to frame their own laws.

The new assembly declared *the people to be part of the government*. All freeholders were granted the right of suffrage; trial by jury was established; taxes could be levied by the general assembly; soldiers should not be quartered on the people; martial law should not exist; *no person should be persecuted on account of his religion*.

The chiefs of the Iroquois met the governors of New York and Virginia at Albany in July of 1684. The terms of a lasting peace were settled. But there ensued a long war between the mighty five nations and the French. It is said that certain people used every artifice to break the treaty with the English without avail. In 1684 and in 1687 the French invaded the Indian territories, but the warlike Mohawks and Oneidas drove them back with great loss.

The duke of York became king of England in 1685. He was known as King James, and one of his first acts was to dismiss the assembly at New York, an abominable tax was levied, printing presses were forbidden, and all the old abuses revived. Edmund Andros was made governor of New England, and he planned to get control of New York and New Jersey again. To New York he sent Francis Nicholson as

his deputy, and until the English revolution in 1688 New York was ruled as a province of New England.

There was heartfelt rejoicing among the citizens of New York when the news of the accession of William of Orange to the throne was known, and the people rose in rebellion against Nicholson, who was glad to flee to England. The leader of the insurrection was Captain Jacob Leisler. A committee of ten took upon themselves the task of governing. Leisler was appointed commander of New York and afterwards provisional governor. The councilors who had been friends of Nicholson left New York and went up to Albany. There the party opposed to Leisler organized a second provisional government. Both factions began to rule in the name of William and Mary. Milborne, who was a son-in-law of Leisler, went to Albany to demand the surrender of the town, but the leaders of the other faction opposed the demand and Milborne went back to New York. This was the condition of affairs at the commencement of King William's war. Early in the spring of 1690 the authority of Leisler as governor of New York was recognized throughout the provinces.

All the summer was spent in preparing to conquer Canada. The general assembly was convened at the capital. But little, however, was accomplished except the recognition of Leisler as governor.

Captain Richard Ingoldsby arrived from England in January of 1691, bringing the news that Colonel Sloughter had been appointed governor of the province. Leisler courteously received Ingoldsby, but Captain Richard haughtily demanded of him the

surrender of his majesty's fort. Leisler acknowledged allegiance to King Willian and Colonel Slougher, but refused to surrender the fort. In March the new governor arrived, and Leisler on the same day tendered his submission. He wrote a letter to Slougher expressing his desire to surrender the fort to the governor. The letter was not answered, and Ingoldsby was sent with verbal orders to receive the fort. Leisler capitulated and he and Milborne were seized and sent to prison. When the government was organized the prisoners were brought to trial. Slougher hesitated to condemn them to death, but he was invited to a banquet and when so filled with wine that he only partially understood what he was doing he signed his name to the death warrants of these brave men, and before he could undo the mischief they had already been hanged.

The treaty with the five nations was renewed the same summer by Governor Slougher.

Major Schyuler, at the head of the New York militia in 1692, made a successful expedition against the French beyond lake Champlain.

The assembly had met meantime and passed an act forbidding arbitrary taxation, and another which declared the people to be a part of the government.

Benjamin Fletcher succeeded Slougher in 1692. He was a thoroughly bad man, but one of almost no ability. The purpose of the English king was to place all the territory between Connecticut and the Delaware under a common government. So Fletcher was commissioned as governor and commander-in-chief of New York, and also of the militia of Con,

necticut and New Jersey. He met with very little opposition in New Jersey, but the Puritans of Hartford treated his pretensions with scorn. He attempted to establish the English church in New York, but was resisted and defeated.

In 1696 the French invaded New York, but were soon driven back by the English and Iroquois, and before a second invasion could be attempted King William's war was ended, and in 1697 Bellomont, an Irish earl, was made governor. His administration is said to be the happiest in the history of the colony. His authority, like that of some of his predecessors, extended over a part of New England. Massachusetts and New Hampshire were under his jurisdiction, but Connecticut and Rhode Island remained independent. It was during Bellomont's administration that the famous Captain Kidd, the most dangerous of pirates, held sway. A vessel was fitted out by a company of wealthy, as well as distinguished, Englishmen to protect the commerce of Great Britain and to punish piracy. Governor Bellomont was one of these proprietors and he commissioned William Kidd as captain. No sooner was Kidd at sea than he turned pirate himself and became for two years the terror of the high seas. His booty has been supposed to be buried in many places, and if the people who have wasted time and labor in digging for the treasures of Captain Kidd had employed themselves in honest labor doubtless most of them would have been saved the disgrace which comes to the people who think the world owes them a living, no matter who earns it. Captain Kidd was caught on the streets of

Boston. He was seized, sent to England, tried, convicted and hanged.

Lord Cornbury succeed Lord Bellomont in 1702, just a month after the proprietors of New Jersey had surrendered their province to the English crown. The two colonies were formally united in one government under Cornbury and for thirty-six years the two provinces continued under the jurisdiction of a single governor. Cornbury was cordially hated. He attempted to established the English church, used the public money for his personal benefit, and persecuted those who had taken part in the so-called Leisler insurrection. The civil dissensions reached a climax in 1708. The people petitioned for the governor's removal. The councilors selected their own treasurer and refused to vote appropriations. Then Queen Anne sent Lord Lovelace, and the miserable Cornbury was arrested for debts and thrown into prison.

To conquer Canada was still uppermost in the minds of many strong men, and in the winter of 1709-10 eighteen hundred volunteers from Delaware and the Hudson made an unsuccessful expedition against Montreal. The troops marched north as far as Lake George. There they received information that the English fleet which was to co-operate at Quebec had been sent to Portugal. The troops of New England were not sufficient to attempt the conquest and the troops of New York were obliged to retreat. In 1711 the army which was to invade Canada by land was furnished by New York. A second time they reached Lake George, but the news of the destruction of Walker's fleet was so discouraging (for without a fleet

they could accomplish nothing) that they returned to their homes. The result of these campaigns were heavy debts and in many cases ill health.

The Tuscaroras of Carolina had been defeated and driven from their homes by the southern colonists. In 1713 they marched northward and joined their kinsmen on the St. Lawrence, making the sixth nation in the Iroquois confederacy. Some nine years later the governors of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia made a commercial treaty with the six nations by which the fur trade of the Indians was secured to the English, and in order to secure the full benefit Governor Burnett of New York established a trading post at Oswego on Lake Ontario and another at Crown Point on the western shore of Lake Champlain.

Governor Cosby succeeded Burnett in 1732 and was much troubled with a dispute about the freedom of newspapers. The liberal party thought that a public journal might criticise the administration. The aristocratic party were of course bitterly opposed to freedom of thought or speech. An editor named Zenger had published criticisms on the governor, was arrested and placed in prison. The excitement was great. The populace were for their champion. There was a lawyer by the name of Andrew Hamilton living in Philadelphia who went to New York to defend Zenger. The trial came on in July, 1735. The case was heard, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal. The aldermen of New York presented Hamilton with an elegant gold box, and the people were wild with enthusiasm over this victory of the freedom of the press.



The negro plot occurred in 1741. There were very many negroes in the community. There had been numerous fires and the negroes were suspected, and they became accordingly feared and hated. A wretched white woman started a report that the negroes had made a plot to burn the city and set up a governor of their own color. The frightened populace were ready to believe *anything*. The reward of freedom was offered to any slave who would reveal the plot. Many witnesses rushed forward and the jails were filled with the accused, and more than thirty, with scarcely the form of trial, were convicted and hanged or burned to death. Others were transported and sold as slaves in foreign lands. When the excitement had died away it became only too apparent that there had been *no plot at all*.

New York had been several times invaded by the French and Indians during King George's war, but these invasions had been easily repelled. A few villages in the north part of the state had been destroyed, but the province had not suffered much. The alliance of the Mohawks with the English had made these more hazardous than profitable. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in 1748, brought peace and good will to the people of New York.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### INDUSTRIES.

THE people of Manhattan dealt largely in furs and there were many merchants among them. In New England the tillers of the soil were not skilled agriculturists. They had few and clumsy implements. The work of clearing the ground of trees, stumps, roots and stones was very hard. Perhaps no one in this age can realize what a terrific task it is to work without tools. The trees must be felled, cleared of the larger limbs, rolled together and burned, and while burning (a period of weeks sometimes) the half-burned logs must be kept together, so that all would be consumed. The tree felling occurred in the winter; the burning in the spring; and before August there would be a thick growth of raspberry bushes (red raspberries of finest flavor). The second year these canes would be six to seven feet in height and quite impassable, except in the paths kept down by cattle, sheep or wild creatures. Then sometimes the first, sometimes the second year, these bushes would be burned down and the big stumps dug out or else corn, potatoes and squashes would be planted in the now rich earth. It might be years before the stumps and roots and stones were out of the way so that the land could be cultivated. Stumps and stones were hauled by oxen mostly to the boundary of the field, where they were arranged in a fashion more pictur-

esque than beautiful. The stump is turned on the side so that as large an area of roots as possible front the highway; interstices are filled in with stones and roots. Every cleared acre of ground represented *so much of a man's life*. The roads were mere trails known by blazed trees. The houses were of logs invariably built over a deep cellar. There was a large chimney usually built of stones (laid in clay) at one end of the house. The back and sides and hearth of the huge fireplace were of flat stones. The windows were small and covered with oiled paper, and then thick shutters bolted carefully at night, as was the great door. The furniture was simple except such as was brought from England—two to three strong, high and very straight-backed chairs, a massive table, a large chest with carved front. The trusty match-lock, sword, or other implements of defence were on brackets of exceedingly simple structure. The mantel shelf was *always* high; so were the shelves and pegs on which clothes were hung. These good people seemed to consider that the more they denied themselves personal comfort and pleasure, and even love, the greater would be the crown. Many a mother dared not *kiss* and fondle her *babes* as her heart longed to do, lest she should be committing a sin against God.

An instance of this sort of superstition is related in the poem of Miles Standish by Longfellow. It is at the time when John Alden, bidden by his commander Miles Standish to go to the lovely Priscilla and present a proposition of marriage to her from Miles Standish. John Alden had crossed the ocean for Priscilla and he loved her with a devotion seldom seen. On his way

to her habitation he communed with himself thus :

“Must I relinquish it all?” he cried with a wild lamentation,—  
“Must I relinquish it all, the joy, the hope, the illusion?  
Was it for this I have loved, and waited and worshipped in silence?  
Was it for this I have followed the flying feet and the shadow  
Over the wintry sea, to the desolate shores of New England?  
Truly the heart is deceitful, and out of its depths of corruption  
Rise, like an exhalation, the misty phantoms of passion ;  
Angels of light they seem, but are only delusions of Satan.  
All is clear to me now ; I feel it, I see it distinctly !  
This is the hand of the Lord ; it is laid upon me in anger,  
For I have followed too much the heart’s desires and devices,  
Worshipping Astaroth blindly, and impious idols of Baal.  
This is the cross I must bear ; the sin and the swift retribution.”

Longfellow also gives an exquisite picture of the work common among the maidens of the day, which I can do no better than to copy.

So through the Plymouth woods John Alden went on his errand :  
Came to an open space, and saw the disk of the ocean,  
Sailless, sombre and cold with the comfortless breath of the east-wind ;  
Saw the new-built house, and people at work in a meadow ;  
Heard, as he drew near the door, the musical voice of Priscilla  
Singing the hundredth Psalm, the grand old Puritan anthem,  
Music that Luther sang to the sacred words of the Psalmist,  
Full of the breath of the Lord, consoling and comforting many.  
Then, as he opened the door, he beheld the form of the maiden  
Seated beside her wheel, and the carded wool like a snow-drift  
Piled at her knee, her white hands feeding the ravenous spindle,  
While with her foot on the treadle she guided the wheel in its motion.  
Open wide on her lap lay the well-worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,  
Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,  
Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a churchyard,  
Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses.

And for the rest of this exquisite love story read the entire poem. No American library is complete without Longfellow, Lowell and Whittier.

On the high mantel piece was always a stoutly bound Bible, and not infrequently a very large and cumbersome pair of spectacles with frames of brass or silver or horn was laid on or beside the sacred book. Indeed, one of the company's instructions was as follows: "Our especial desire is that you take especial care in settling these families; that the chief in the family be well grounded in religion, whereby morning and evening duties may be duly performed, and a watchful eye held over all in each family appointed thereto, so that disorders may be prevented, and ill weeds nipt before they take too great a head." An hour glass always stood on the shelf by the Bible, and frequently there were quite a number of good books, as well as the polished brass candle sticks and snuffers. This was of course in the best room. The kitchen rafters were adorned with various things from dried pumpkins to sage. Sanded floors were quite the fashion, at least in the front room. The snowy sand was brought from the beach and sprinkled evenly over the floor. Then the good housewife with a stick or twig drew patterns in it. The wealthier class brought their china and glassware with them, and they were then, as they are just now, put in corner cupboards with glass doors. Sometimes there were "dresses" which contained "wooden bowls and trenchers, earthen platters, horn drinking cups and a pewter tankard." There were baskets of birch bark embroidered by the Indians that hung about the walls and at regular intervals heavy serge curtains drawn back. A pile of block beds (filled with wool or finely cut woolen cloth) were covered with comforts,

woolen blankets and rugs. At night these were drawn out and placed between the serge curtains. Around every house there was a pallisade enclosing a garden and a spring of water.

While the Puritans knew nothing of the science of farming, not even the rotation of crops or of fertilization, they made so many experiments with plants and roots and seeds that the only thing grown successfully in this country now that was unknown to them is sorghum.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT.

THE first grant of the territory known as Connecticut was made by the council of Plymouth to the earl of Warwick in 1630, but in 1631 (March) the claim was transferred by him to Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brooke, and John Hampden. Before the colony could be planted, however, the Dutch had built their fort at Hartford. The Puritans immediately sent out a force to compel them to desist, for their charter not only gave them Connecticut, but also the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands. So the English squadron sailed up the beautiful Connecticut until opposite the fort. The commander of the Dutch garrison ordered Captain Holmes to strike his colors, and threatened to fire on the fleet should he attempt to pass on; but Captain Holmes defiantly hoisted his sails and calmly proceeded on his way with the flag of England floating. At the mouth of the Farmington they landed and built the block house of Windsor.

Hatfield, Windsor and Wethersfield were settled in October, 1635, by Bostonians. But before these settlements and in the same year young Winthrop, son of the governor, arrived in New England. Under his direction a fort was constructed at the mouth of the Connecticut. The fort was completed just in time to prevent the entrance of a Dutch trading vessel which appeared at the mouth of the river, and the

place was named Saybrook, in honor of Lord Say-and-Seal and Lord Brooke.

Early in the settlement of Connecticut belongs the pitiful story of the Pequod war. They were a fierce tribe numbering seven hundred men. The entire English force did not amount to two hundred men. The superior courage and weapons of the English more than balanced the superior numbers of the savages.

The crew of a trading vessel were murdered on the banks of the Connecticut in 1633. An Indian embassy went to Boston to apologize. A treaty was made and the Pequods acknowledged the king of England. The Narragansetts, who were bitter enemies of the Pequods, had already made peace with Massachusetts. A reconciliation was effected between the tribes, but as soon as the Pequods were freed from their fear of the Narragansetts they began to violate their treaty with the English. Outrages were committed and soon the war was on in earnest.

Now the Pequods attempted to induce both the Narragansetts and Mohegans to join them in destroying the English. Roger Williams of Rhode Island wrote a letter to Sir Henry Vane, then governor of Massachusetts, warning him of his danger, and volunteering to oppose the conspiracy. The governor replied urging Williams to use his endeavors to thwart the alliance. So the noble Roger Williams got into his canoe and crossed the bay to the house of Canonicus, chief of the Narragansetts, and he found there the emissaries of the Pequods. For three days and nights the man who had been exiled plead with Canonicus



for those who had driven him from home in the cold and cheerless mid-winter. His efforts for peace were successful, and the Narragansetts voted to remain at peace. The Mohegans also refused to accept the proposed alliance. But the Pequods repeatedly attacked those on the outskirts. There were many deeds of violence and many murders. At Wetherstfield there was a massacre in which nine persons were killed. This was in April, 1637.

On the 1st of May the towns of Connecticut declared war. Captain John Mason, of Hartford, enlisted sixty volunteers. Seventy Mohegans joined the expedition, and Sir Henry Vane sent Captain Underhill with twenty soldiers from Boston. The voyage from Hartford to Saybrook occupied one day. The expedition passed the mouth of the Thames on the 20th. Here was the principal seat of the Pequot nation. The savages watched the squadron sail by and set up shouts of elation. They were quite satisfied that the English *dared* not attack them. The fleet sailed up to Narragansett bay, disembarked and at once took up the march to the country of the Pequods. Mason called at the cabin of Canonicus and tried to persuade the Narragansetts to join them, but they were afraid the whites might be defeated and dared not bring the wrath of the Pequods upon them, so they remained neutral. It was the 25th of May when the invading army reached the Pequot fort. The warriors spent the night in uproar and jubilee. At two o'clock (a. m.) the English marched upon them. A dog ran howling and barking among the wigwams, and the warriors rushed to their feet. The

English jumped over the weak pallisades and began to shoot them. "Burn them," cried Mason, as he caught a flaming mat, and ran through the wigwams, which in a moment were a sheet of flame. The frightened savages ran round and round like beasts in a burning circus; and if one of them burst through the flames he met his death. The destruction was complete. Only seven warriors escaped, and seven were made prisoners. Six hundred men, women and children perished, nearly all of them burned to death in a heap. Sassacus, the chief of the tribe, escaped to the Mohawks and was murdered. Two English were killed and twenty wounded in the engagement. The Pequods had a second fort and the next morning after the battle three hundred came over to talk about the destruction of the English. When they saw the ashes, all that remained of the pride of the Pequods, their rage knew no bounds. They stamped the ground, they ran around, they howled. In the meantime Mason's men had withdrawn to Saybrook and thence to Hartford. The remnant of the Pequods were pursued into the swamps. Every wigwam was burned and every field laid waste. Two hundred fugitives were killed or taken in captivity. The prisoners were distributed as servants among the Narragansetts or sold into captivity.

While pursuing the Pequods the English became familiar with the coast west of the mouth of the Connecticut. Some men from Boston remained all winter, built them cabins and founded New Haven, and in April a Puritan colony from England, led by Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport, came to make

their home there. On the first Sabbath after their arrival they assembled under a mighty oak and Davenport preached a touching sermon on *the temptation in the wilderness*. These people purchased land of the Indians, and for the first year they covenanted together to *obey the scriptures* and had no other government.

In June of 1639 the men of the colony met in a barn and adopted the Bible for a constitution. The government was called the House of Wisdom, of which Eaton, Davenport, and five others were *the seven pillars*. Only church members were admitted to citizenship. All officers were to be chosen at the annual election. Some other settlers came and villages were on both shores of the beautiful sound.

The western colonies were subject to Massachusetts until 1639. At this time the people began to consider a separate commonwealth. Delegates from three towns met at Hartford, and on January 14th, 1640, the new constitution was framed. This instrument was the **most simple** as well as liberal of any ever adopted. But Saybrook and New Haven could not accept the frame of government by which the other colonies in the Connecticut valley were united.

In the year 1643 Connecticut became a member of the union of New England. New Haven was admitted, and the next year Saybrook knocked at its doors and asked for admission. Governor Stuvesant met the commissioners at Hartford in 1650 and established the western boundary of the province. It was thought that this measure would promote peace, but in 1651 Stuvesant was suspected of inciting the

Indians against the English, so that Connecticut and New Haven sought aid from the mother land—and not in vain, for Cromwell sent out a fleet to assist them in subjugating New Netherland.

But the news of peace came and war was averted. On the restoration of monarchy in England, Connecticut immediately recognized King Charles as rightful sovereign. Young Winthrop was sent as ambassador to London to procure a royal patent for the colony. He carried a charter which had been prepared by the authorities of Hartford. Lord Say-and-Seal and the earl of Manchester used their influence to induce the king to sign it, and young Winthrop showed the king a ring which Charles I had given to Winthrop's grandfather. The token so moved the monarch's feelings that he signed the colonial charter. It was the most liberal and ample ever granted by an English king, and it has been more than intimated that he was in a careless mood when he signed it. Winthrop returned to Connecticut and was immediately chosen governor of the colony and continued in office fourteen years.

Peace reigned and the civil institutions were the best in all New England. Connecticut was saved from invasion during King Philips's war. Not a life was lost within her borders, and there was no destruction of property within her limits. Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New York, felt called upon to come to Saybrook and read his commission to the people as governor of Connecticut. Captain Bull, who commanded the fort, ordered him to stop. Andros insisted that his dominions extended from the Connec-

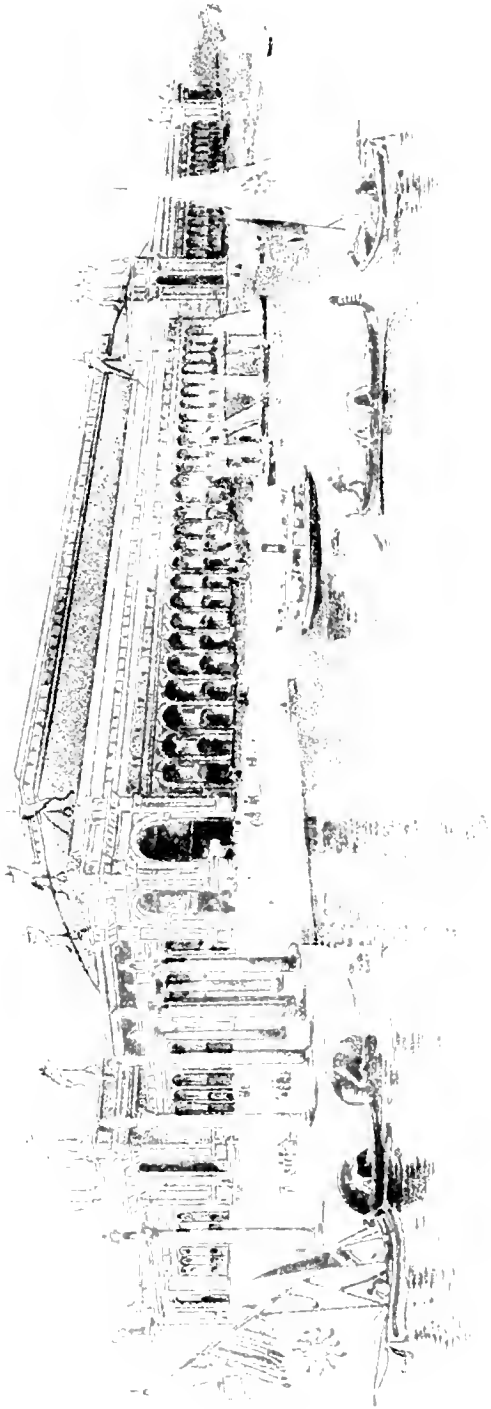
ticut to the Delaware. Captain Bull lost his patience and replied with scant courtesy, "Connecticut has her own charter signed by Charles II. Now leave off your reading or take the consequence." The governor was beside himself with rage, but he was sent to his boat by the Saybrook militia. Andros was appointed governor of all New England in October of 1687, and made shortly afterwards a trip to Hartford. He found the assembly in session, invaded the meeting, seized the book of minutes and wrote "*Finis*" at the bottom of the page, and demanded the surrender of the charter. How the lights were extinguished and the charter hidden by Joseph Wadsworth has been related in the history of Massachusetts.

Governor Fletcher of New York went to Hartford to take command of the militia in 1693. He carried a commission from King William; but by the terms of the charter the right of commanding the troops was vested in the colony. Fletcher cared nothing at all for the colonial charter. He had been furnished with a commission and the commission he *purposed to read*, whether anybody desired to hear or not. Fletcher ordered out the militia under arms and commenced reading. "Beat the drums," shouted Captain Wadsworth, at the head of the company. "Silence," cried Fletcher. "Drum, drum," commanded Wadsworth. "Silence," roared Fletcher. Wadsworth stepped before the ranks and said, in a most determined, though dignified manner, "If I am again interrupted I will let the sunshine through your body." The controversy was ended. Fletcher thought it *was* better to be a "living governor" than a "dead

colonel," and he returned to his governorship and troubled Conecticut no more.

In the year 1700 some men, having the good of the colony deeply at heart, met at Branford, a town near New Haven. Each one of the ten brought with him some choice books. "I give these books for the founding of a college," said each one as he deposited his books; and this was the founding of famous *Yale* College. The school was opened at Saybrook in 1702 and continued for fifteen years. Common schools were in almost every village in Connecticut. Elihu Yale was a generous patron, and it was thought wise to remove the college to a larger town, and as Elihu Yale had been the most generous patron the institution was named for him—just as the one at Cambridge was for John Harvard.

Now for fifty years reigned peace and prosperity. Poverty and pauperism were alike unknown. And as those long deprived of the comforts of life enjoy them doubly when restored to them again, so the people who had known what starvation and frost-bites and Indian wars meant were doubly contented and thankful.



MANUFACTURES AND LIBERAL ARTS BUILDING.

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893.





## CHAPTER XX.

### THE BLUE LAWS OF CONNECTICUT.

THERE has been a great deal said about the Connecticut Blue Laws. History says *nothing* about them, and the fact is if these so-called Blue Laws were in existence to-day, penitentiaries would not be needed. There were no laws forbidding husbands to kiss their wives or mothers to kiss their babes. It is true they were an austere people, but at that time they were no more austere than the *good* people of England. The Rev. Samuel Peters (though how he came to style himself "Rev." is as mysterious as his way of calling himself "Doctor," since neither title belonged to him) was in need of money. Now in this day and generation it is a well known fact that the book that is most sharply criticised, and especially if it is forbidden to go through the mails, is the book that has the greatest sale; for since the days of Adam forbidden fruit is ever the sweetest to certain classes of people, and Samuel Peters was a man who could talk fluently, but the people who knew him best paid no heed to his words. He possessed also the pen of a ready writer and, as I have before intimated, he was a good judge of human nature. So he set himself to work to write up the so-called Blue Laws of Connecticut. He must have been possessed of strong imagination, and as he went along he mixed *a very little truth* with a great deal of fiction.

The Rev. Dr. Trumbull, the historian of New Haven, who had grown up with Peters, thus mildly speaks of him : "Of all men with whom I have ever been acquainted, Dr. Peters, I think, can be least depended upon as to any matter of fact; especially in story telling." Said a man thoroughly acquainted with Peters' antecedents : "His own life even begins with a fable." He wrote an autobiography of himself. In it he mentions as *near relations* of his wife and himself wealthy and learned people of the same name, but who were not any relation to either of them whatever, and in many instances not even acquainted. The Rev. Dr. Beardsley thus characterized the book : "Extravagant and incredible, ludicrous and apocryphal." The book was first published in 1781. The next year it received a new *title page* which described it as a *second edition*. "Whether this was done to stimulate the sale, or merely to improve a blank space in the title by the insertion of one more falsehood, is not clear." "Its narrations," says Duykinck, "are independent of time, place and probability." A sober critic would go mad over an attempt *to correct* its mistakes and misstatements. What could sober criticism do, for instance, in the account of Bellows falls, "*where the water is consolidated, by pressure, by swiftness, between the pinching, sturdy rocks, to such a degree of induration that no iron crowbar can be forced into it,*" or with the bridge over the Quinebury at Norwich under which ships pass with all their sails standing; or with the infamous villainy of Sir Thomas Hooker, who spread death on the leaves of his Bible and struck

Conecticote, a great sachem, mad with disease ; or with the assertion that Yale college "was originally a school established by the Rev. Thomas Peters at Saybrook ;" or with the story of the alarming incursions of the Windham frogs, or the description of the remarkable quadrupeds, the whappernocker and the cuba ; or with the conviction and punishment of the Episcopal clergyman in 1750 "for breaking the Sabbath day by walking too fast from church, and combing a lock of his wig on Sunday."

Now among the worst results of what a Scotchman would call *weeked lees*, in 1867 Mr. M. McN. Walsh, A. M., L.L. B., of the New York bar, published a handy book entitled "The Lawyer in the School Room," in which Peters' whole code is given as real laws of the New Haven colony. And even worse, Prof. Schele De Vere, of the University of Virginia, in his volume of "Americanisms" (published in New York in 1872, p. 273) endorses the story of the Blue Laws according to Peters as "confirmed without a doubt," yet he doesn't say what they were confirmed by ; probably, however, by the reprint of the "Abstract of Laws of New England" (which were proposed for Massachusetts, but were never in force in that or any other colony). Another man who was deeply interested in politics in 1817, named Jonathan M. Scott, wrote a poem entitled "Blue Lights, or the Convention." It was in four cantos and was inspired by a desire to taunt the federalists. Aside from his poem, he quoted some of the Blue Laws, though he makes no pretence of being a historian. The first is :

"1. Whoever kisseth his wife on the Sabbath day

shall be fined in the sum of three shillings and four pence, or in default thereof shall receive at the post forty stripes save one."

"4. Whosoever shall be convicted of profane swearing shall have the oath of which he was convicted written on his hat with chalk for the space of one week; and for the second offence shall stand with his tongue in a split stick until the going down of the sun."

"5. All cracking of nuts, eating of apples, and such like unbecoming amusements during divine service are strictly forbidden, as being highly repugnant to ecclesiastical discipline."

The true law against *profane swearing* is this copied from the first code of Connecticut.

"It is ordered and by this court decreed that if any person within this jurisdiction shall swear rashly and vainly, either by the holy name of God or any other oath; [*or*] shall sinfully and wickedly curse any; he shall forfeit to the common treasure, for every such several offense, ten shillings: and it shall be in the power of any magistrate, by warrant to the constable, to call such persons before him, and upon just proofs to pass a sentence, and levy the said penalty according to the usual order of justice: and if such person be not able, or shall utterly refuse to pay the aforesaid fine, he shall be committed to the stocks, there to continue not exceeding three hours and not less than one hour."

This is copied from the Massachusetts law of November, 1646, Rec. ii, 178.

From "Some Orders of Massachusetts of the General

Court and Court of Magistrates 1636-1665" (first volume colony records) we copy some of the orders:

"It is ordered that noe yonge man that is neither married nor hath any servaunte be noe publicke officer, shall keepe house by himself, without consent of the towne where he liues first had, vnder paine of 20s. per weeke.

"It is ordered that noe master of a family shall giue habitacon or interteinment to any yonge man to sojourne in his family, but by the allowance of the inhabitants of the saide towne where he dwells under the like penalty of 20s. per weeke. These 2 last orders to take effect the first of Aprill next. (pp 7, 8.)

And here are a few of the court records:

"1638 Mar. 9<sup>o</sup> die.—It is ordered that whosoever doth disorderly speak privately during the sitting of court, with his neighbor, or two or three together, shall presently pay one shilling, if the court so think meet."

In order that the offences may be easily read the spelling, except that of proper names, will be modernized.

"1639.—Jno. E——, A. S——, and Jno W—— were centured for unclean practices as follows: Jno E—— to be whipped at the cart's tail upon a lecture day at Hartford (equal to a circus day now). John W—— to stand upon the pillory from the ringing of the first bell to the end of the lecture, *then* to be whipped at the cart's tail, and to be whipped in like manner at Windsore within eight days following. A. S—— to stand upon the pillory and be whipped as W—— and to have the letter R burnt upon his cheek, and in

regard of the wrong done Mary H—— to pay her parents ten pounds, and in defect of such to the commonwealth, and when both are in fit condition to marry her.

“It is in the mind of the court that Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Phelps see some public punishment inflicted upon the girl for concealing it so long.”

“1639.—Jno B—— and Mary H—— were both censured to be whipped for unclean practices, and the girl’s master is enjoined to send her out of this jurisdiction before the last of the next month.”

“1639-40.—Wm. C——, servant to Jno. Crow, was fined forty shillings for misdemeaanor in drinking, and corporal punishment was remitted upon his promise of his care for the future to avoid such occasions.”

“1640.—Ed Veare of Wethersfyeld is fined ten shillings for cursing and swearing, and also he is to sit in the stocks at Wethersfyeld two hours the next *training day*.”

“1641.—For the preventing and avoiding that foul and gross sin of lying, it is ordered, that when any person or persons shall be accused and proven guilty of that vice, it shall be lawful for that particular court to adjudge and censure any such party, either by fine or bodily connection according as they shall judge the nature of the fault to require; this to hold to the next court.”

1643.—Whereas the prosperity and well being of common weals doth much depend upon the well government and ordering of particular families, which in an ordinary way cannot be expected where the

rules of God are neglected in laying the foundations of a family state ; for the prevention therefore of such evils and inconveniences, which by experience are found not only to be creeping in, but practiced by some in that kind. It is ordered that no person whatsoever, male or female, not being at his or her own dispose or that remaineth under the government of parents, masters or guardians or such like, shall either make or give entertainment to any motion or suit in way of marriage, without the knowledge and consent of those they stand in such relation to, under the severe censure of the court, in case of delinquency not attending to this order ; nor shall any third person or persons intermeddle in making any motion to any such without the knowledge and consent of those under whose government they are under the same penalty."

"1645.—Susan C——, for her rebellious carriage toward her mistress, is to be sent to the house of correction and to be kept to hard labor and coarse diet, to be brought forth the next lecture day to be publicly corrected, and so to be corrected weekly, until order be given to the contrary."

"Walter G——, for his misdemeanor in laboring to inveigle the affections of Mr. Hooker's maid, is to be publicly corrected the next lecture day."

"1646.—Robert B——, for his gross misdemeanor in slandering Miss Mary Fenwicke, is to stand on the pillory, Wednesday, during the lecture, then to be whipped, and fined five pounds, and half year's imprisonment."

To be sure these are copied from the laws of Massachusetts, but they vary nothing of import from those

of Connecticut. For information on this subject important to all good citizens consult "Blue Laws, True and False," edited by J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, 1876, published by American Publishing Company.

Perhaps a description of a meeting house in early New England may interest my readers. The seats were of long planks with round legs inserted like those of milking stools. There were no backs and no means of heating the churches, so all those who could took foot stoves to church. I have seen several. They were a foot long and eight inches wide. The frame was of wood, though they were lined, and the sides and top were of tin with holes and slits to allow the heat to escape. A shovel full of hard wood coals lasted through the long meeting time and literally kept the people from freezing. Later, when wealthy people came to join them, the meeting houses grew more like English churches. The pews were sort of box stalls, the seats could be pushed up and fastened and there were closed doors, so nobody need know who was in the next pew to him. It is related that a little girl, on being taken to meeting for the first time, said: "What, must I be shut up in a closet and sit on a shelf?" At length the fashion of building high pews became a nuisance. Permission to build pews had always to be obtained. Doors opened often from each pew into the churchyard. It is recorded of the Haverhill church that restrictions were put upon those who to glorify themselves would have builded towering pews as follows: "Provided they would not build so high as to damnify and hinder the



light of *them* windows." There were also peculiar rules about the Waterbury "pues." In the style of building, where every pewholder was entirely independent of his neighbor, the floors were in some pews six inches higher than others. This was an unpleasantness carefully guarded against in the building of the Waterbury church, allowing pewholders perfect freedom in building so they did not "progodish the hous." These pews were seated sometimes on three sides, so it was not all of the occupants who could see the minister and not all whom he could see. So the services of a tithing man carrying a long switch was of real use, as reading from these laws we find human nature was about the same then as it is now or of King David's time. These pew seats in some churches were fastened up against the wall when not in use; and the poor "boyes," who had sat still for fear of the tithing man (who seemed to have eyes in the back of his head), let out a little of their impatience in banging up the seats. It has been said that the noise could be distinguished half a mile away, so there was a "notis" posted in Haverhill church. "The people are to let their seats down without such nois." "The boyes are not to wickedly noise down the seats." In some of the aristocratic churches there were little balustrades of turned wood around the high pews and gallery railings and many were the sinful peeps taken by the childish sinners at the occupants of the next pew, and as paper wads were in fashion then, as now, many a child has been exceedingly angered by some one delighting to tease, and many a billet doux has been passed through the same balustrades when the parents

were silently nodding. It was the custom among these people to take with them to church, not saucy, gorgeous flowers, but a little fennel or dill or southern wood, and many times the good woman slipped a few peppermints or caraway or coriander seeds in the small bead-embroidered bag which was always carried on her arm. Sometimes the restless little creatures would keep quiet by giving them an occasional "goody."

These pews for many years were uncushioned except when a very aged or feeble person brought a cushion along. It is said that Colonel Greenleaf caused a dreadful talk in Newbury town at the beginning of the eighteenth century when he cushioned his pew, and the widow of Sir William Pepperel, who was a grand-dame, had her pew not only cushioned, but curtained with worsted stuff and carpeted with bear skin. This pew remained with the same draperies and rug, though long grown dingy and moth-eaten, until 1840. This was in the Kittery church.

With all their democracy the Puritans had wonderful respect of rank when it was accompanied by godliness, and in seating of the congregation the best seats were filled by the aristocracy. The pew on one side of the church was occupied by the minister's family. Large families were the rule then—fourteen being considered "medium." One minister is said to have had twenty-one living children. The seats in the gallery and the foreseat and pews were considered by far the best and there was doubtless much heart-burning and anger among those who were forced to take back seats, and took them silently, but with a "I am as good

as you be" air. Those who had seats assigned them often walked to others and occupied them. It is a matter of history that one woman, whose name we will withhold, treated Captain Osgood very roughly because he gave her the second seat back of the fore-seat, when she felt that her position demanded the first seat next the foreseat. This seating business threatened disaster to the churches, so in some votes were yearly cast for the persons who should occupy the best seats. In other churches those who gave and the amounts given determined their seats; in others, seats were sold at regular vandoos. Young men and women sat on opposite sides of the church, though married people often sat together. The Puritan boys were looked upon with suspicious eyes, and they sat on pulpit and gallery stairs and were spoken of by the good elders (who had forgotten that they were ever young) as "ye wretched boyes on ye Lords day," and in the town of Salem in 1676 it was ordered that "all ye boyes of ye towne are and shall be appointed to sitt upon ye three pair of stairs in ye meeting-house on ye Lords day; and William Lord is appointed to look after ye boyes yt sitte upon ye pulpit stairs. Reuben Guppy is to look and order soe many of ye boyes as may be convenient, and if any are unruly, to present their names, as the law directs." The Puritan fathers seemed never to think that "herding" the boys together was positively the very way to provoke mischief. It is related of one of these boys caught in the very act that he was brought before the magistrate with this accusation that he had "sported and played and by indecent gestures and wry faces

caused laughter and misbehavior in the beholders." And of the girls little better can be said. "Of one younge woman, Tabatha Morgus by name, S. Norich by residence, did on the 24th of February (it being Lord's day) profane ye Lorde's day in ye meeting house of ye West Society in ye time of ye fore-noone service of s'd day by her rude and indecent behavior in laughing and playing in ye time of s'd day services, which doing is of ye s'd Tabatha is against ye peace of our sovereign Lord, ye king, his crown, and dignity," and the said Tabatha was fined and compelled to pay three shillings and six pence for her awful wickedness. Likewise Deborah Bangs, a yonge girl, for larfing in the Wareham meeting house in time of worship, paid five shillings, and a boy who laughed also paid a fine of ten shillings. Probably he made more noise than she did. It was wicked to smile in ye meeting house, for his majestie's tithing man entered complaint against Jona and Susan Smith "that on the Lord's day during divine service they did smile," and each one was fined five shillings and cost, which, as shillings were harder to get than five dollar gold pieces now, probably enabled them to attend church with [becoming solemnity for some time after.

One tithing man being found insufficient to keep the Puritan boys from "everlasting whittling" (a habit which clings to Yankees, as the thin skin to an egg shell), it was decreed, in one church, at least, that long sticks be put in convenient places; so that persons seeing boys whittling the seats or behaving themselves unseemly might bring them to a proper under-

standing of the holiness of the house they were in, by rapping them smartly about the head. The tithing man had full control of the boys at midday, and let it be said of him he honestly earned his wages.

By and by it began to be genteel to sit down stairs, and also the middle seats, which had been considered the poorest, were now looked upon with favor. Then the boys, always looked upon with disfavor and given the worst seats, were sent into the "gailary," but not alone, for a tithing man sat there also. These pews were, in the words of the celebrated Dr. Porter, "the devil's playhouses." The wee boyes sat down stairs, as no boye under ten was allowed in the gailary. In Plainfield, Connecticut, the "pestigious boys" invented a new annoyance. They "damnified the glass," and a church ordinance had to be passed to try to prevent them from "opening the windows or otherwise damaging the glass." Do you wonder that the boys, full of life, opened the windows, which let a little fresh air in upon them in the hot high pews, close to the roof of the house? Do you wonder if they now and then nudged each other as the odor of clover and wild flowers came up to them through the windows, through which, opened only a tiny bit, they caught a glimpse of the blue sky and the blue water? They heard the sweet voices of robins and blue birds and the hum of the bees, who alone were not censured for working on the holy day.

The constables were notified to "take hede that no one opened the windows in the tyme of public worship." Even the sweet fresh breezes were forbidden. What a world of pleasure these poor people lost in serving God after their own hearts.

In Westfield, Mass., the boys became so wicked that the church officers decided that "if there is not a reformation respecting the disorders in the pews built on the great beame in the time of publick worship the comite can pull it down."

A little later, as there were always more or less old and deaf people, the front pew was called the deaf pew. There was a custom of seating colored people in seats marked. B. W. was for black women and B. M. was for black men. Some very deaf persons sat on the pulpit stairs and some in the very pulpit. Tin trumpets were used to aid the defective hearing and many mirth-provoking sights were witnessed. The choir or singing seat was in the gallery; sometimes again they sat in the two seats directly in front of the pulpit, and when in this portion on rising to sing the men faced the audience, the women modestly the pulpit. Sometimes they stood in a high square pew, with a table in the center to lay the psalm books on when at rest. There was a pew called "The Swallow's Nest" or "the roof pew." It was reached by a short flight of steps from the gallery. This was not infrequently occupied by Indians or negroes. The most dreadful seat was the one known as the stool of repentance. By the statutes of the new colony barbarous and cruel punishments were forbidden; but here forever humiliated must the one who had perhaps sinned, like Hester Prynne, sit with the red brand forever on her forehead; never forgetting, till a merciful God relieved her from her sad and weary and lone pilgrimage, the sin that caused her to be shunned. Remember, *all persons in the commonwealth*

*must attend church.* It is a matter of history that once two wretched women, not branded, but bearing around their heads the name of the sin each had committed, were compelled to sit on the same stool, and a woman living in Agamenticus at the same time was ordered to stand in a white sheet publicly with the name of her offence on her head. This was in 1681, and very soon the system was abolished.

Many ludicrous scenes occurred after high pews became common and more comfortable. The people, many of them at least, worked very hard during the week, and as the air was at least a week old in the church it conduced to sleepiness. So it became the duty of the tithing man to wake the nappers. The following is from the journal of Obadiah Turner of Lynn :

“June 3, 1646.—Allan Bridges bath bin chosen to wake ye sleepers in meeting. And being much proude of his place, must needs have a fox taile fixed to ye ende of a long staff wherewith he may brush ye faces of them yt will have napps in time of discourse, likewise a sharpe thorne whereby he may pricke those such as be most sound. On ye last Lord his day, as hee strutted about ye meeting-house, he did spy Mr. Tomlins sleeping with much comfort, hys head kept steadie by being in ye corner, and his hand grasping ye rail. And soe spying, Allen did quickly thrust his staff behind Dame Ballard, and give him a grievous prick upon ye hand. Whereupon Mr. Tomlins did spring vpp mch above ye floore, and with terrible force strike hys hand against ye wall; and also, to ye great wonder of all, prophanlie exclaim, in a loud

voice, curse ye woodchuck, he dreaming so it seemed yt a woodchuck had seized and bit his hand. But on coming to know where he was, and ye greate scandall he had committed, he seemed much abashed, but did not speak. And I think he will not soon again goe to sleepe in meeting."

Another story is related of a farmer who had been washing sheep the day before, and being quite worn out had succumbed to the drowsy god; when the officious tithing man observed him and roughly striking him partially awakened him. In his dream he thought he had been kicked by an unruly sheep, and catching his inoffensive wife by the shoulders he shook her soundly, calling loudly, "Haw back! haw back! Stand still, will ye?" It is said that the disgrace lasted nearly their whole lives.



## CHAPTER XXI.

### RHODE ISLAND.

**R**oger Williams, the founder of Providence, was driven an exile from Massachusetts because he preached that the Indians owned the land and should receive recompense for it from the colonists. It was in 1636. He was driven out in mid-winter. He was joined by five companions. Farms were laid out the next spring and houses built. He called the place Providence Plantation because it was a refuge for all the persecuted. Roger Williams was a native of Wales, born in 1606, educated at Cambridge, England. He had been a friend of Milton, and was a great hater of ceremonies. He believed in religious liberty and the equal rights of all men. Williams was the natural ruler of the little province, but he had not been here long until he felt the need of a second baptism. His friend Ezekiel Holliman, a layman, performed the ceremony for him, and then Williams in turn baptized him and ten others. This was the organization of the first Baptist church in America. The lands Roger Williams had bought from Canonicus he freely distributed among his friends, reserving only two small fields for himself. All the powers of the government were entrusted to himself. A simple agreement had been made by the settlers, "That in matters not affecting the conscience they would yield obedience to such rules as the majority might make

for the public good. In questions of religion the conscience should be to every man a guide." The new government brought peace and harmony; all sects were welcomed. Miantonomah loved Williams with a deep affection. It was through his affection that the colonists were warned of the intended massacre. For this deed of generous kindness the people of Salem would have liked him to come back to them, but his enemies prevented his return. Many settlers came into the free state and in March, 1641, a public meeting was convened, the citizens came together on terms of equality and the government was declared to be a democracy. The vote of the majority should always rule. The little republic was called the Plantation of Rhode Island. In 1643, Providence and Rhode Island were refused admission into the union of New England, so Roger Williams went to London to procure a charter for these two colonies. On the 14th of March (the following year) the patent was granted and Rhode Island became an independent commonwealth. The new government was organized at Portsmouth in 1647. A code of laws was framed and a president and subordinate officers chosen. But some four years later again the government was changed, William Coddington having obtained from the English council a decree by which Rhode Island was separated from the common government. John Clarke and Roger Williams went immediately to London to prevent the disunion. Williams was offered the governorship, but he refused the commission; Clarke remained in England to watch the interests of the colony. Charles II came home from his long exile in

1660 Rhode Island had accepted a charter from the long parliament, but it was doubtful if the king would renew it. The people hoped and prayed for it, but dreaded to ask the king this favor; however, he and his ministers listened to the petition and the charter was reissued. All the provisions of the old charter were renewed. On the 24th of November the new charter was read before the assembled populace of Rhode Island. For about twenty years Rhode Island prospered, and the distresses which the people passed through faded away until they were forgotten.

Roger Williams, now grown to be an old man, died, and Sir Edmund Andros, of whom we have heard several times, came and demanded the charter of Rhode Island. The demand was evaded by the governor and general assembly, but Andros went straight to Newport, dissolved the government and broke the seal of the colony. He appointed five councilors to direct the affairs of the colony, and the commonwealth seemed ruined. But the shameful usurpation was short-lived. In the spring of 1689 Rhode Island received news that Andros and his officers were prisoners at Boston. On the first of May the people of Rhode Island gathered at Newport and made a proclamation of their gratitude for the deliverance, and a Quaker named Henry Bull, more than eighty years of age, was chosen governor. The noble veteran accepted the trust and spent his last days in restoring the liberties of Rhode Island.

And again prosperity smiled on the little State. The principles of Roger Williams became the principles of the commonwealth.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

THE territory lying between the Kennebec and the Merrimac was granted by Plymouth council to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason in 1622. Early the next spring, 1623, two small companies of colonists were sent by Mason and Gorges to people their province. Part of them landed at Little Harbor, near Portsmouth, and commenced to build a village. The other company proceeded up river and laid the foundations of Dover. Plymouth, Weymouth, Portsmouth and Dover is the order in which these cities were settled. Their growth was very slow. For some time they were only fishing stations.

Gorges and Mason divided the district and Gorges took the part north of the Piscataqua, and Mason the part between the Piscataqua and Merrimac, and in May the Rev. John Wheelwright visited the Abenaki chieftains and bought their claim to the district, conveyed by patent to Mason. Mason's title was confirmed by a second patent, and the province was thereafter known as New Hampshire. But Massachusetts now began to urge her claims to the district north of the Merrimac.

Mason died in 1635 and his widow undertook the government of the province. But she delegated authority to the servants and dependents of the late proprietor, and the condition of affairs became such

that John Wheelright and a small party of friends repaired to Exeter and founded a village on the banks of the Piscataqua. The small colony was declared a republic, established on the principle of equal rights. New Hampshire became united with Massachusetts in April, 1642, but the law restricting the rights of citizenship to members of the church was not extended over the new province, for the people of Portsmouth and Dover belonged to the church of England. New Hampshire was the only colony east of Hudson river not settled by the Puritans.

In 1679 the union of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was sundered in this way. The heirs of Mason revived their old claim of proprietorship in 1677, and the courts of England rendered a decision that the Masonian claims were *invalid* as to the civil jurisdiction of New Hampshire, but valid as to the soil, and on the 24th of July New Hampshire was separated from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and organized as a distinct royal province. Edward Cranfield was chosen governor. But before his arrival the sawyers and lumbermen of the Piscataqua convened a general assembly at Portsmouth. A resolution was passed that no act, law or ordinance should be valid unless made by the assembly and approved by the people. When the king heard of this resolution he declared it to be both absurd and wicked. In November, 1682, Cranfield dismissed the general assembly. There was great excitement. At Exeter the sheriff was actually clubbed, and the tax-gatherer received an uncomfortably warm reception from the farmers' wives, who gave the men not a cup of cold water, but

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pails full of boiling hot. Hampton villagers led Cranfield's deputy out of town with a rope round his neck. Cranfield, unable to collect his rents and vexed to death besides, wrote to England begging to be allowed to come home.

Now an effort was set on foot to restore New Hampshire to Massachusetts ; but before this could be done Edmund Andros had stepped in and taken away the charter of Massachusetts and made himself, or was made, the governor. The colonies north of the Merri-mac yielded to his authority, but the moment they knew of his imprisonment they also rose in rebellion. New Hampshire became again annexed to Massachusetts, but not until it had been joined to the government of the earl of Bellomont. After this the union with Massachusetts lasted forty-two years.

But during this period the heirs of Mason had sold their claims to New Hampshire. Samuel Allen bought the estate and his son-in-law, whose surname was Usher, was appointed governor. Then there were lawsuits and strifes without number. Finally the heirs of Allen abandoned their claim in despair. Then it was discovered that the instrument conveying the deed from Mason to Allen was defective and the original Masonian patent was revived. In the final adjustment the colonial authorities allowed the validity of the old patent as to the *unoccupied portions* of the territory, and the Masons surrendered their claim to the rest.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### NEW JERSEY.

**E**LIZABETHTOWN was founded in 1664. There had, however, been a trading post at Bergen since 1618, but there were no permanent dwelling houses until forty years later. Fort Nassau was erected in 1623 on the Delaware, but after a few months May and his companions came back to New Amsterdam. The territory of New Jersey was included in the grant made to the duke of York, but in 1644 that part of the province lying between the Hudson and Delaware (extending as far north as forty-one degrees and forty minutes) was assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. These noblemen adhered to the king's cause during the civil war in England and were thus rewarded.

Shortly after the conquest a company of Puritans made application to Governor Nicolls and received a grant of land on Newark bay. The Indian titles were bought and the following October a village was commenced named Elizabethtown. Philip Carteret began his duties as governor in August of 1665. There was no friendship between Nicolls and Carteret. Elizabethtown was made the capital. Newark was founded, and flourishing little villages appeared on the shores of the bay as far north as Sandy Hook. Sir George Carteret had been governor of the isle of Jersey and in compliment to him the American do

main was called New Jersey. A most excellent constitution was provided for the new state. The government was made to consist of a governor, a council and a popular legislative assembly. There should be no taxation unless levied by the representatives of the people. Difference of opinion should be respected, and freedom of conscience guaranteed to every citizen. The lands of the provinces were distributed to the settlers at a quit-rent of half a penny an acre, not to be paid until 1670.

In 1668 the first assembly convened at Elizabethtown. The representatives were Puritans, and the laws of New England were the laws of the colony.

All went well until the rents were due (1670). In the meantime the colonists had purchased the land from the Indians, and the collection of rents was resisted. Then the colony became indeed anything but a happy one, and in May of 1672 the colonial assembly deposed Governor Nicolls and elected James Carteret to fill his place. After the trouble between England and the Dutch in the New Netherlands and the restoration of that province to England, the duke of York received a second patent for the country between the Connecticut and Delaware, and at the same time he confirmed the patent formerly granted to Berkeley and Carteret of New Jersey. But very shortly afterward Sir Edmund Andros was appointed royal governor. Carteret defended his claim against Andros; but Berkeley sold his interest in New Jersey to John Fenwick to be held in trust for Edward Byllinge. Philip Carteret resumed the government in 1675, while Andros opposed him in every act, and the colony was



in a state of unrest all the time. Finally Carteret was arrested by Andros and brought to New York for trial. Byllinge made an assignment of his property to Gawen Laurie, Nicholas Lucas and William Penn. These people were Quakers and they, like the Puritans, longed for a land where they could live at peace. Penn and his friends applied to Sir George Carteret for a division of the province, and it was agreed to divide New Jersey so that Carteret's district should be separated from that of the Friends. The line of division was drawn from the southern point of land on the east side of Little Egg harbor to a point on the Delaware in the latitude of forty-one degrees and forty minutes. The territory lying east of the line remained to Sir George as sole proprietor and was named East Jersey, while the other part was called West Jersey and was under control of Penn.

The Quaker proprietors published a code of laws called the "Concessions" in March of 1676. Everything was conceded to the people. The constitution rivaled the charter of Connecticut in liberality. The authors of this instrument wrote to the Quakers inviting them to this haven. The invitation was accepted and before twelve months had passed a colony of more than four hundred Friends had found homes in West Jersey. The agent of Andros at New Castle obliged the emigrants to pay duties before proceeding, but Sir William Jones decided that the duke of York had no right to collect taxes in Delaware. All claims to West Jersey were then withdrawn, and the Quakers were left to the enjoyment of peace. The proprietors of East Jersey now made an effort to secure

a deed of release from the duke of York. The petition was granted, and the whole territory was freed from foreign authority. Jennings, the deputy-governor of West Jersey, convened the first general assembly in November, 1681. The Quakers met together to make their own laws. The "*Concessions*" were reaffirmed. Men of all races and religions were declared equal. The sale of ardent spirits to the red men was prohibited. Taxes should be voted by the representatives of the people. The lands should be acquired by purchase from the Indians. Imprisonment for debt was forbidden, and a criminal might be pardoned by the person against whom the offence was committed. William Penn and eleven other Friends purchased the province of East Jersey in 1682. Robert Barclay, of Scotland, author of the book called "*Barclay's Apology*," was appointed governor for life, and then came immediately a large emigration from Scotland of Quakers.

In 1685 Edmund Andros was appointed royal governor of the colonies from Maine to Delaware. In 1688 the Jerseys were brought under his jurisdiction. When the news reached the colonies of his majesty's abdication, Andros was compelled to surrender, and his imprisonment in Boston has been already given. Still the condition of affairs in New Jersey was far from comfortable. There was no telling who the property did belong to, and from 1689 to 1692 there was really no settled government. Finally in April, 1702, the territory between the Hudson and Delaware became a royal province and New Jersey was attached to the government of Lord Cornbury of New York.

This government continued for thirty-six years and was then ended by the people. The representatives of New Jersey sent a petition in 1728 to George II praying for a separation of the two colonies. Ten years elapsed, and then the effort being renewed it was successful. The people of New Jersey suffered comparatively little from the Indians. Along the coast they were weak and timid, and perhaps the fact that they were more kindly treated than by other colonists had something to do with the peace.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### PENNSYLVANIA.

FOR more than a quarter of a century the Quakers had (previous to their arrival on American shores) been cruelly persecuted. In June of 1680 the good William Penn appealed to King Charles for the privilege of founding a Quaker commonwealth in America, and on March 5th, 1681, a charter was granted by Charles II and William Penn became the proprietor of Pennsylvania. This large domain was bounded on the east by Delaware, extending north and south over three degrees of latitude, and westward over five degrees of longitude. The three counties of Delaware were reserved for the duke of York. In consideration of this grant Penn relinquished a claim of sixteen thousand pounds against the English government. He declared his object to found a free commonwealth without respect to color, race or religion of the inhabitants. Among the first acts was to write to the Swedes in his province, inviting them to keep their homes without fear of oppression. Within four weeks Penn published an interesting account of his new country, promising freedom of conscience and inviting emigration. During the summer three ship loads of Quakers left England for Pennsylvania. William Markham, the deputy-governor of the province, was instructed by Penn to deal justly with all men, and to make friends

of the Indians. In October Penn sent a letter to the natives assuring them of his brotherly affection. The constitution for the people was drawn up by Penn in the winter of 1681-82. The remarkable treaty made between Penn and the Indians, and which was never violated, was this. There was a great conference of tribes on the banks of the Delaware who met by invitation. Penn appeared in his simple Quaker garb. He said: "My friends, we have met on the broad pathway of good faith. We are all one flesh and blood. Being brethren, no advantage shall be taken on either side. When disputes arise, we will settle them in council. Between us there shall be nothing but openness and love." The chiefs replied: "While the rivers run and the sun shines we will live in peace with the children of William Penn." In December, 1682, a general convention was held, the object being to complete the territorial legislation. After this Penn visited Lord Baltimore to confer about the boundaries of their provinces. He returned in a month to Chester and drew a map of his proposed capital. He purchased the neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware. In February, 1683, the trees were blazed that were in time to form the streets of Philadelphia, and the city was founded. Within a month a general assembly was in session in the new capital. A democratic form of government was adopted. The officers were the governor and a council consisting of members chosen for three years, and a popular assembly to be elected annually. The right to veto objectionable acts lay with Penn.

The city of Philadelphia grew like a cinnamon vine.

In 1683 there were only three or four houses. The ground squirrels were not at all frightened by the inhabitants and wild deer traversed the streets. Two years later there were *six hundred* houses. The school master had come, and that greatest school master, the printing press. A year later and Philadelphia had outgrown New York. In August of 1684 Penn took leave of his colony and sailed for England. All was peace in the colony until the secession of Delaware in 1691. The three lower counties, which had been on terms of equality with the six counties of Pennsylvania, became dissatisfied with some acts of the assembly and insisted on a separation. The proprietor gave consent. Delaware withdrew from the union and received a separate deputy-governor.

Penn was several times imprisoned because he adhered to King James II. In 1692 his proprietary rights were taken from him and the government of Pennsylvania taken from him and transferred to Governor Fletcher of New York. The next year the state of Delaware was also governed by Fletcher, and finally all the provinces between Connecticut and Maryland came under his control. But Penn was found guiltless of disloyalty and was restored to his rights. In December, 1699, Penn came to visit his commonwealth. "He found the lower counties in a state of hostility to the assembly," and attempted to make peace by drawing up a constitution still more liberal than the first; but Lord Delaware would not accept the new constitution and the two provinces were set apart in 1702. But the following year they were reunited.

Penn returned to England in the winter of 1701 in

order to prevent the establishing of royal government in all the colonies, as there was a scheme being prepared for such work. After a tiresome controversy his rights were restored to him, and in 1718 the good man went to his reward. His estates were large and valuable and he bequeathed them to his three sons, John, Thomas and Richard; and either by them or their deputies Pennsylvania was governed until the American revolution.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### MARYLAND.

**W**E have already learned of Captain John Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake, and of William Clayborne, an English surveyor, being sent out by the London Company to explore the country around the bay, and that by the second charter of Virginia that province included all Maryland. A trading post was established at Kent island some time in the year 1631 and a second near Havre de Grace. The Chesapeake was explored and a trade opened with the natives. The limits of Virginia was about to be extended to the borders of the New Netherland. Sir George Calvert, better known as Lord Baltimore, prepared the way for Roman Catholics in the wilderness. King James granted to Lord Baltimore a patent for the southern part of Newfoundland and a colony was brought there in 1623; but it was soon evident that it could not flourish in so cold a climate, and so Lord Baltimore turned his eyes to the Chesapeake, lovely as the "vale of Cashmere." In 1629 he went to Virginia. The general assembly offered him citizenship, but required an oath of allegiance such as no honest Catholic could take. Lord Baltimore left the assembly and went directly to London, where he drew up a charter for a new state on the Chesapeake and induced King Charles to sign it.

The provisions of the charter were generous, no







preference being given to any particular sect of religion. The lives and property of the colonists were well guarded. Arbitrary taxation was forbidden. The power of making the laws lay with the people. But before the patent received the signature of the king Lord Baltimore, always a good man, was "beyond the sleeping and the waking." His son Cecil received his title and to him the charter was issued on the 20th of June, 1632, and in honor of the wife of Charles I, Queen Henrietta Maria, the province was named Maryland.

A colony of two hundred persons accompanied by Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Cecil, arrived in March, 1634, at Old Point Comfort. They ascended the Potomac to the mouth of Piscataway creek. They held a conference with the chiefs of the Indian villages there. The chieftain, who acted as spokesman, told Calvert that his colony "*might stay or go just as they pleased.*" And they concluded it was best to "stay not on the order of their going, but go at once." Finding a half-deserted village, the English bought the town and moved into the vacant huts and called the place St. Mary's.

The Indians were kindly and soon the squaws taught the English women how to make corn bread and the warriors taught the mysteries of hunting to the colonists, and for a long time there were neither worries nor want in the colony, and within six months it was larger than Jamestown had grown in six years.

February, 1635, the general assembly convened, and trouble began, for Clayborne on Kent island and his

colonists resisted Lord Baltimore's authority, and in 1637 there was a bloody skirmish on the eastern shore of the bay. Some lives were lost, but Clayborne lost his cause, and one or two of the rebels were hung. Clayborne himself escaped into Virginia and was sent to England for trial. He appealed to the king. The cause was heard by parliament and they decided his commission to be null and void.

In 1639 Maryland became subject to a representative government. Before this a democracy had prevailed. Each freeman had been allowed his vote in making the laws. When the new delegates came together a declaration of rights were adopted. All the liberal principles of the first patent were reaffirmed and the rights of citizenship were the same as those in England.

Indian hostilities began along the Potomac in 1642, but as the settlement of Maryland was compact they did not suffer from depredations as more sparsely settled countries did. Clayborne after awhile came back and soon had everybody at war, so that Governor Calvert himself had to flee to Virginia. But after a year of lawlessness Calvert collected troops, defeated the rebels, and his authority was restored in 1646. But the mischief of Clayborne was not yet ended. In 1651 parliamentary commissioners came to America to assume control of Maryland. Stone, the deputy of Baltimore, was deposed, but in a few days reinstated. In April of 1653 he published a proclamation declaring the interference a rebellion. Clayborne collected a force in Virginia, drove Stone out of office and directed the government himself. A Protestant

assembly was convened at Patuxent in 1654. The supremacy of Cromwell was acknowledged, and the Catholics were deprived of the protection of the laws, and as a natural consequence civil war ensued. Governor Stone armed the militia and took possession of the records of the colony. Near Annapolis the battle was fought, and the Catholics defeated with a loss of fifty men. Stone was taken prisoner, but was saved from death by the friendship of some of the insurgents. Three of the Catholics were tried and executed. Jonas Fendall was sent out as governor of the province in 1656. For two years the government was divided, the Catholics exercising authority at St. Marys and the Protestants at Leonardstown. In 1658 a compromise was effected. Fendall was acknowledged as governor, and then of course the acts of the Protestant assembly were recognized as valid.

When Cromwell was dead Maryland was declared independent. The rights of Lord Baltimore were set aside on the 12th of March, 1660, and the whole power of government assumed by the house of burgesses. When Charles II came back to his kingdom Lord Baltimore was recognized, and Philip Calvert was sent out as governor. Fendall had resigned and been elected again by the people, but he was now condemned for treason, but pardoned by Lord Baltimore.

Charles Calvert was governor of Maryland from 1675 to 1691 and the happiness of the colony was disturbed but once during that time. Trouble arose between the Catholics and Protestants, but it was finally settled and Lord Calvert was governor at the time of the revolution.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### NORTH CAROLINA.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH was the first to attempt the colonization of North Carolina. The country was granted to Sir Walter Heath in 1630, but after thirty-three years it was revoked by the English king. The name of Carolina had been given to the country by John Ribault in 1562.

Pory made explorations in 1622 and some twenty years later a company of Roanoke Virginians established a trade with the natives. But the first settlement was not made until 1651 on the Chowan. Lord Clarendon received a grant of the land with seven other noblemen—all of the country between the thirty-sixth parallel and St. Johns river. William Drummond was chosen governor the same year and the name given to the colony was Albermarle county.

In 1665 the Indians destroyed the Puritan colony on Cape Fear river. Soon afterwards, however, the territory was bought by a company of planters from Barbadoes. The county of Clarendon was the title of this province and Sir John Yeamans its first governor. To Sir Ashley Cooper the work of framing the constitution was entrusted. The philosopher John Locke was employed by him and his associates to prepare the constitution. From March until July Sir John Locke worked steadily at his plan, which he called *The Grand Model*. It consisted of a hundred and

twenty articles, and this was only the beginning. The *empire* of Carolina was divided into districts, four hundred and eighty thousand acres in a district. The offices were divided between two grand orders of nobility. Though Sir John Locke was a profound philosopher, had he lived in these degenerate days he would have been known as a *crank*. Of course all attempt at establishing a new government on this basis failed; but the settlers of Albermarle and Clarendon managed to govern themselves, and more, they grew prosperous by trading in staves and furs, and when this traffic was exhausted they moved to other quarters. Governor Yeamans in 1671 was transferred to the new colony on Ashley river and the entire county of Clarendon again given up to the savages. Taxes were oppressive. The trade with New England alone cost them twelve thousand dollars annually. The people did not feel at all kindly to the government, and when in 1676 refugees from Virginia arrived in Carolina in great numbers the Carolinians felt that "patience had ceased to be a virtue," and the people seized Governor Miller and his council and put them safely away, and had a government of their own with John Culpepper as governor. Three years later Miller and his council escaped from confinement and went to London. Governor Culpepper went also to defend himself. However, he was seized and tried for treason and found *not guilty*.

The proprietor sent out a new governor in 1680, Seth Sothel, but he had the misfortune to be captured by pirates and it was three years before he saw the territory over which he was to reign. Thereafter a

great many people would have been glad if the pirates *had never released him*, for he was in every way a bad man; and when he grew unbearable the people arrested him. He begged to be tried by an assembly of the people and so got off with much less punishment than he deserved. Ludwell was the next governor and he arrived in 1689. His administration was one of peace. He was succeeded in 1695 by Sir John Archdale. Then followed the administration of Governor Walker, and in 1704 the attempt of Robert Daniel to establish the church of England. There had come into the new state people from Virginia and Maryland, Quakers from New England, Huguenots from France and peasants from Switzerland. Meantime the Indians were gradually wasting away. Already some nations were extinct. Their lands were held by white men, sometimes honestly bought, sometimes procured by trickery. There were remaining but two formidable tribes, the Corees and Tuscaroras, who finally became so jealous of the whites that war came of it. It was near midnight of the 22d of September, 1711. The air was balmy as summer time in the northern states. The settlers had no warning. The Indians fell upon the sleeping people in the scattered settlements and murdered a hundred and thirty persons. There were grave dissensions among the authorities, which prevented making active efforts to give the people protection. Kind-hearted Colonel Barnwell came from South Carolina with a company of militia and a band of friendly Indians and drove the savages into their fort, and a treaty of peace was made. But, alas, Barnwell's men passed through an



Indian village and sacked it, and again the war was on.

Colonel Moore came the next year from South Carolina with a regiment of white men and Indians, and the Tuscaroras were pursued to their fort on Cotentnea creek. The place was assaulted and eight hundred taken prisoners. The Tuscaroras abandoned their hunting grounds, marched across the country and joined their kinsmen, becoming the sixth nation of the Iroquois. In 1729 the Carolinas were separated, each receiving a royal governor. The people had no public institutions of learning, neither was there much attention to religion. There was no minister until 1703 in the whole province, and the first church was built in 1705. In the same year came the printing press.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE proprietors of South Carolina sent a colony to America in 1670 under command of Joseph West and William Sayle. They reached the main land in the country of the Savannah, but the emigrants did not like the appearance of the land and sailed up the coast as far as the mouth of Ashley river and entered and located the town on the first high land upon the southern bank and named the place Charleston for Charles II. The colony was to be governed by Sayle, who brought his commission with him. Five councilors were elected by the people and five were appointed by the proprietors. Twenty delegates composing a house of representatives were chosen by the colonists and in less than two years the government was thoroughly established. But Governor Sayle died in 1671 and West took his place, until Sir John Yeamens, who had been governor of the northern province, was commissioned as chief magistrate of the southern colony.

But with him came a slave ship filled with frightened and suffering negroes ; stolen from home and friends ; unused to work ; for in their land so bountiful was nature that there was no necessity. Here, far from home and friends, they were compelled to work that the whites might live at ease. It was only two years from the arrival of the first cargo till slavery was

firmly established, and so large had been the importations that there were two negroes for every white person. It was now 1671. The land was being rapidly filled with settlers. Fertile lands were abundant. The Indians were nearly extinct. The proprietors, knowing of the great discontent about New Netherland, sent several ships to bring the people to the beautiful "summer land" and Charles II collected a company of Protestant refugees in Europe and sent them to Carolina to introduce the silk worm and cultivate the grape.

In 1680 thirty buildings were erected in Charleston, and at once the village became the capital of the colony. The climate was bad and retarded the progress of the town, but the people were energetic. There came at length trouble with the Nestoes Indians, who lived near Charleston. Violence was used on the border and a bounty was offered for every captured Indian, and when taken they were sold as slaves to the West Indies. For a whole year this strife was continued and then concluded with a treaty of peace.

Scotland, Ireland, England and France now commenced sending colonies to South Carolina. The French Huguenots were persecuted in their own country and came in great numbers where they hoped to obtain freedom. They were promised citizenship, but it was not until 1697 that all discriminations were removed against them.

James Colleton became governor in 1686. He attempted to commence his administration with the constitution drawn up by Locke, but the colony was "up

in arms." The militia was called out and the province declared under martial law, but things grew worse and worse. When William and Mary ascended the throne in 1689 Colleton was sent away. Seth Sothel straightway went to Charleston and took the reins of government. At first the people sustained his authority, but he was soon found out, and after two years of constant trouble he was glad to seek a calmer abode. It is said that he did *one* good act. In May, 1691, the Huguenots were granted equal rights.

Philip Ludwell was the next governor. He did his best, but the people hated the constitution and so they were not satisfied. *The Grand Model* was annulled in April, 1693, and Thomas Smith appointed governor. John Archdale superseded him. Archdale was a Quaker, distinguished for wisdom and judgment, and again the country prospered. The quit-rents on lands were remitted for four years, the Indians were conciliated with kindness, and the persecuted Huguenots protected in equal rights. The whole province felt it a misfortune when this good man was recalled to England. James Moore was next commissioned as chief magistrate. Very soon he declared war on the Spaniards of St. Augustine. It was voted to raise and equip twelve hundred men to invade Florida by land and water. In September, 1702, two expeditions departed, the land forces led by Colonel Daniel and the fleet commanded by the governor. The English vessels sailed to the St. John. Daniel went overland and captured St. Augustine, but the Spaniards withdrew into the castle, and as the besiegers had no artillery the castle could not be taken. Two Spanish men of

war appearing at the mouth of the St. John, the English ships were blockaded and Colonel Moore could only withdraw his forces and retreat hastily into Carolina. No loss of life was recorded, but there was a debt contracted. The colonists were aroused. The governor himself led a command in December of 1705 against the Indians. The invaders reached a fortified town near St. Marks, and carried it by assault. More than two hundred prisoners were taken and on the following day a large body of Indians and Spaniards were defeated. Five towns were conquered in succession and the English flag waved over the gulf of Mexico. Episcopalianism was the established faith of the province, though freedom of belief was allowed.

Charleston was besieged in 1706 by a French and Spanish fleet. The people of the capital were commanded by Governor Johnson and Colonel Rhett. One of the French vessels, carrying eight hundred troops, got to shore, but retreated, losing three hundred in killed and prisoners. The siege was abandoned.

In 1715 the Yamassees rose upon the frontier settlements and then followed a most cruel massacre of the people living out of the capital, and so desperate were the savages that they came very near the city. Governor Craven rallied the militia and chased the savages to the banks of the Salkehatchie, where a decisive battle was fought and the Indians completely routed. Then the Yamassees collected their tribe and retired to Florida.

After the war the colonists through the assembly petitioned the proprietors to bear a part of the ex-

pense, but they met with a stern refusal and the proprietors would take *no* measures to protect the colony. The people, burdened with rent and taxes, were indignant and dissatisfied with proprietary government. In the election that followed every delegate was chosen by the popular party. This did not suit the proprietors at all, and when James Moore, the chief magistrate elected by the people, was to be inaugurated Governor Johnson attempted to prevent the ceremony, but the militia collected in the public square and before the set of sun the old form of government in Carolina was no more. Governor Moore was inaugurated in the name of George I. It was only a short time, however, till Francis Nicholson was commissioned to succeed him. He at once concluded treaties with the Cherokees and the Creeks.

The year 1729 marked still another change in the affairs of the colony. Seven of the proprietors of South Carolina sold their claims to the king. The price paid for the two colonies by the king was twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds. Royal governors were appointed and the affairs of the colonists put upon a sound basis.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### GEORGIA.

JAMES OGLETHORPE, famous as a philanthropist, founded the thirteenth state. In England the laws for debt were so stringent that thousands of laborers were every year imprisoned. In thousands of cases it was no fault of the laborer. Wages were so low that by constant employment only the most meagre food and cheapest clothing could be afforded. The dwellings were in fearful sanitary condition, and when now and then some member of the family fell sick the bread winner had to go to jail because he had no money for the doctor. Oglethorpe felt the dreadful injustice of this and petitioned George II for the privilege of planting a colony in America. The king was amiable and on the 9th of June, 1732, a charter was issued by which the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers and west to the Pacific was granted to a corporation, to be held in trust for the poor and in honor of the king. The new province was named Georgia. Oglethorpe, who was not only a philanthropist, but a brave soldier and a member of parliament, was the principal member of the corporation, and to him was the leadership entrusted. It was June when the charter was granted and in November following a hundred and twenty emigrants were ready to sail, and in January, 1733, they reached Charleston and were warmly welcomed. The colonists went

further south and entered the river and February 1st found them laying the foundations of Savannah. The streets were broad and soon presented a beautiful picture. Tents and board houses were shaded by the magnificent pine trees.

The Indians were very kind. The chief of the Yamacraws, Tomochichi, came from his home to visit Oglethorpe. He brought with him a present of a buffalo skin painted with the head and feathers of an eagle. "The feathers are soft and signify love; the buffalo skin is the emblem of protection. Therefore love and protect us," said the old chieftain. Feeling that it would be wise to make peace with all the tribes, Oglethorpe invited the Muskhogees to a council at his capital and the conference was held on the 29th of May. Long King, the sachem, spoke for all the tribes. "The English were welcomed to the country." Gifts were made and the governor responded in the kindest manner.

Emigration was encouraged by the councilors in England, so that people of many nationalities came to the new world. Oglethorpe returned to England in April and took with him Tomochichi, chief of the Yamacraws. It was said in London that never was a colony so wisely founded as the Georgia colony. The councilors wisely prohibited the importation of rum, and traffic with the Indians was regulated by a license. Slavery was forbidden. While Oglethorpe was abroad a company of Moravians arrived in Savannah. In February of 1736 the governor returned, bringing with him three hundred Moravians. They were a devout people, and among them was *John*



*Wesley*, the father of Methodism. He came hoping to convert the Indians and spread the gospel, but he found the work so different and the results of his hard labor so meager that in two years he returned to England. His brother, Charles Wesley, came as secretary to the governor. George Whitefield came in 1738 and preached to all the colonists as he alone could preach. He saw the need of an orphan's home in Savannah and he went through all the colonies preaching and asking for help to build this home, and it was said that those who listened to his fervid eloquence could not deny him. His heart was in his work here, and he died in Newburyport in 1770. He was one of the most brilliant preachers. Franklin, Hume and John Newton have united in bearing testimony to the beauty and effectiveness of his oratory. It is stated in his memorandum book that in a period embracing thirty-four years he had preached upwards of 18,000 sermons. He had crossed the Atlantic seven times and traveled thousands of miles in Europe and America. And when his strength was failing he put himself on "short allowance," as he termed it, namely, preaching once every day of the week and thrice on Sunday.

Oglethorpe had reason to anticipate war with Florida and began to fortify. All of Georgia was embraced in the Spanish claim, but Oglethorpe had a charter including all the territory as far as the Altamaha. In 1736 he built a fort at Augusta, and also Fort Darien was located on the north bank of the Altamaha, and on St. Simon's Island the fortress erected was named Frederica. From this time the

St. Johns was claimed as the southern boundary of Georgia. After he had done all he was able in this country he went to England for troops.

England published a declaration of war against Spain in October, 1739, and in the first week of the following January Oglethorpe invaded Florida and captured two fortified towns. Returning to Charleston, he induced the assembly to support him, and with more than a thousand men he marched against St. Augustine. For five weeks they besieged the place. The air was full of malaria and there were many sick in the English camp, and the Carolina troops thought it was wisest to return home. The Spaniards determined now to carry the war into Georgia and made great preparations. A fleet of thirty-six vessels carrying over three thousand troops sailed in June, 1742, from St. Augustine to destroy Fort William on Cumberland island. But Oglethorpe reinforced the garrison and then fell back to Frederica, having cut a road which lay between a morass and the forest. Along this path the Spaniards must pass to attack the town. The Spaniards were superior in numbers, and so Oglethorpe resorted to stratagem. He wrote a letter to a French deserter in the Spanish camp telling him that two British fleets were coming to America to aid Oglethorpe, and that if the Spaniards did not make an immediate attack on Frederica they would be captured. The letter was delivered and the Frenchman arrested for a spy. The Spaniards scarcely knew what to do, but finally decided to make the attack. The English men were posted between the swamp and the woods. It was the 7th of July when the

invaders reached the pass. They were fired on from ambush, and driven back in great confusion. The main body of the Spanish forces pressed on into the same position and for a while stood the storm, but when they had lost two hundred men they retreated. For many years this spot was known as Bloody Marsh, and within a week after the battle the Spanish forces were withdrawn and sailed for Florida. And now that the colony of Georgia was firmly established Governor Oglethorpe felt that he had fulfilled his commission (to establish a corporation to be held in trust for the poor), and when his ten years of work were ended he bade good-bye to his people. In the time he lived in America he never owned a house or even an acre of ground, and history fails to show us that his people ever misunderstood him, as many noble men have been. He passed the remainder of his life in England and lived nearly one hundred years.

The settlers of Georgia had no titles to their lands. Estates could descend only to the oldest sons. The colonists thought that the cause of their poverty lay in the fact that slavery was forbidden. The proprietary laws were felt to be ill suited to the community. The statute against slavery was not enforced. At first they began by hiring slaves for short periods of service, then for longer ones, then for a hundred years (which shows how easily law may be evaded). Never were truer words than those of Pope :

Vice is a monster of so frightful mein,  
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen ;  
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,  
We first endure, then pity, then embrace,

Finally slaves were brought directly from Africa and sold to the planters below the Savannah. In June, 1752, the councilors surrendered their patent to the king. A royal government was now established over the country and the people were granted the same freedom as Englishmen. The growth of the state was slower than Oglethorpe hoped for, but before the revolutionary war it had made vast strides forward. The marshes of South Carolina and Georgia were well adapted to the culture of rice. Cotton had long been grown by the Indians, and so had tobacco.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

**I**N the settlement of America the English colonized near the coast. France, led by Marquette and La Salle, colonized the interior. The "Father of Waters" was discovered by Marquette. The story of the discovery is a charming one. The French Catholics had established a mission for instruction of the Indians at a point near the outlet of Lake Superior, which they called St. Marys. "Pere" James Marquette was at the head of this mission. He was an earnest and devout Roman Catholic, an ardent admirer of nature, and a man of true heroic mould. He resolved to explore the Mississippi from its upper waters. To do so he repaired to an Indian village on the Fox river, which flows into Green bay. The companions he had selected for this enterprise (which at first glance was full of difficulty and peril) were his congenial companion Mr. Joliet, and also five hardy and experienced Canadian boatman and two Indian guides to go through that wilderness never before trodden by white men. They took two birch canoes, which were close and carefully packed with needful supplies for cooking, hunting, fishing and sleeping. It is said of Marquette that he had such faith in the protection of God and in the friendliness of the Indians whom he might meet by the way that he seems to have had no fears of any hostile encounters. It was the morning

of the 10th of June, 1673, when the party set out from Fox river. Never were there bluer skies, and as they carried the canoes upon their shoulders through the thick forest every footstep brought sweet, strange odors from the bruised plants. Now and then a herd of deer would be seen, and the air was vocal with thousands of tiny songsters. The scenery was enchantingly beautiful and greatly varied. They launched their canoes on the Wisconsin river's placid bosom, and for nearly a whole moon they paddled down the stream five hundred miles before they reached the majestic "Father of Waters." They had found fish in abundance; game came to the river to drink. Their dining room was canopied by blue skies and their couches were of fragrant hemlock boughs, with naught intervening between them and the stars. Their days were not all sunshine, but the dwellers in the forest needed no barometers to tell them of approaching changes in the weather, and they always had opportunity to protect themselves from discomfort.

It was the 7th of July when they entered the Mississippi river, at this point clear as crystal. Marquette writes that "when he first caught sight of this wonderful river flowing from the unknown unto the unknown, he experienced emotions of joy which no language could express." It was easy to be borne down this majestic flood, but to paddle back against the tide would be more than mortal man could do. Still they swept on. It was like fairy land. Sometimes bold bluffs hundreds of feet in height jutted out into the mighty waters. There were crags of tremendous size and of such variety of form that some seemed

like vast castles reared by giant hands. Then prairies seemingly boundless would spread out before them, dotted with groves and carpeted with gorgeously hued flowers. There were seen vast herds of buffalo that set the very earth to trembling when they ran. There were herds of graceful antelopes. There were birds of large size and of hue comparable only to jewels, and then stretches of gloomy forest where savage creatures had their haunts.

Having descended the river nearly two hundred miles, they saw an Indian trail so well trodden that they knew it must belong to a powerful tribe. Marquette and his companion, leaving the boatmen and guides on the shore, started up the trail and found the village some six miles from the river. They were seen a long way off, as it was on a plain, and four of the village patriarchs came to greet them, bearing the pipe of peace, gaily decorated. As the chiefs drew near they were surprised at the pale faces. These were the first they had seen, but they had heard of such people, and the French had shown themselves always kind and generous to the Indians. One of the chieftains said as he led his guest to a seat, "How beautiful is the sun, Frenchmen, when it shines upon you as you come to visit us. Our whole village greets you with a welcome; you shall find a home in all our dwellings." Could Chesterfield himself have said better?

But the English claimed America from coast to coast. The French had colonized the interior. Their habitations and little hamlets and trading posts were along the shores of the great lakes to the head waters

of the Wabash, the Illinois and the St. Croix, and then down the Mississippi and Gulf of Mexico. The French intention had been to divide America and take the greater portion. We have read how cruelly the French were treated in Maine and other states. Probably the most cruel act and the one which caused life-long suffering was the destruction of Acadia, told in Longfellow's pathetic story of Evangeline, who, immediately after the ceremonial of betrothal, was ordered, as were all the Acadians, to go on board the English ships in the harbor, taking with them only such things as they could carry. And while Evangeline sat with her father on the sands waiting for their turn to be taken to the ships he died of sorrow, and the lonely maiden became separated from her betrothed, he being put upon another ship; how they spent their whole lives searching for each other and once were so near that they could have heard each other's voices, yet they met not till he was brought dying to the almshouse, where she gave her life to the sick and dying.

Thus, on a Sabbath morn, through the streets, deserted and silent,  
Wending her quiet way, she entered the door of the almshouse.  
Sweet on the summer air was the odor of flowers in the garden;  
And she paused on her way to gather the fairest among them,  
That the dying once more might rejoice in their fragrance and beauty.  
Then, as she mounted the stairs to the corridors, cooled by the east-wind,  
Distant and soft on her ear fell the chimes from the belfry of Christ  
Church,  
While, intermingled with these, across the meadows were wafted  
Sounds of psalms that were sung by the Swedes in their church at Wicaco,  
Soft as descending wings fell the calm of the hour on her spirit;  
Something within her said, "At length thy trials are ended;"  
And, with light in her looks, she entered the chambers of sickness.  
Noiselessly moved about the assiduous, careful attendants,



Moistening the feverish lip, and the aching brow, and in silence  
Closing the sightless eyes of the dead, and concealing their faces,  
Where on their pallets they lay, like drifts of snow by the roadside.  
Many a languid head, upraised as Evangeline entered,  
Turned on its pillow of pain to gaze while she passed, for her presence  
Fell on their hearts like a ray of the sun on the walls of a prison.  
And, as she looked around, she saw how Death, the consoler,  
Laying his hand upon many a heart, had healed it forever.  
Many familiar forms had disappeared in the night time ;  
Vacant their places were, or filled already by strangers.

Suddenly, as if arrested by fear or a feeling of wonder,  
Still she stood, with her colorless lips apart, while a shudder  
Ran through her frame, and, forgotten, the flowerets dropped from her  
fingers,  
And from her eyes and cheeks the light and bloom of the morning.  
Then there escaped from her lips a cry of such terrible anguish,  
That the dying heard it, and started up from their pillows.  
On the pallet before her was stretched the form of an old man.  
Long, and thin, and gray were the locks that shaded his temples ;  
But, as he lay in the morning light, his face for a moment  
Seemed to assume once more the forms of its earlier manhood ;  
So are wont to be changed the faces of those who are dying.  
Hot and red on his lips still burned the flush of the fever,  
As if life, like the Hebrew, with blood had besprinkled its portals,  
That the Angel of Death might see the sign, and pass over.  
Motionless, senseless, dying, he lay, and his spirit exhausted  
Seemed to be sinking down through infinite depths in the darkness,  
Darkness of slumber and death, forever sinking and sinking.  
Then through those realms of shade, in multiplied reverberations,  
Heard he that cry of pain, and through the hush that succeeded  
Whispered a gentle voice, in accents tender and saint-like,  
"Gabriel! O my beloved!" and died away into silence.  
Then he beheld, in a dream, once more the home of his childhood ;  
Green Acadian meadows, with sylvan rivers among them,  
Village, and mountain, and woodlands ; and, walking under their shadow,  
As in the days of her youth, Evangeline rose in his vision.  
Tears came into his eyes ; and as slowly he lifted his eyelids,  
Vanished the vision away, but Evangeline knelt by his bedside.  
Vainly he strove to whisper her name, for the accents unuttered  
Died on his lips, and their motion revealed what his tongue would have  
spoken  
Vainly he strove to rise ; and Evangeline, kneeling beside him,

Kissed his dying lips, and laid his head on her bosom.  
Sweet was the light of his eyes ; but it suddenly sank into darkness,  
As when a lamp is blown out by a gust of wind at a casement.

All was ended now, the hope, and the fear, and the sorrow,  
All the aching of heart, the restless, unsatisfied longing,  
All the dull, deep pain, and constant anguish of patience !  
And, as she pressed once more the lifeless head to her bosom,  
Meekly she bowed her own, and murmured, " Father, I thank thee ! "

The Jesuit missionaries had established the first colonies and trading posts. In 1641 Lake Huron and Lake Superior had been explored by Charles Raymbault, and in the next thirty years missions were established in Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois. In 1673 Marquette and Joliet reached the Wisconsin and passed down that river and the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas.

In 1678 La Salle, accompanied by an Italian officer by the name of Tonty, left France on the 14th of June. He had a ship well armed and supplied, and soon after his arrival at Canada he built a vessel on Lake Erie named "The Griffin," which was the first craft larger than a birch bark canoe launched on these waters. He had a crew of forty men and sailed to Mackinaw, where he bought a cargo of furs of the Indians. He spent his all in the purchase, but the furs were so valuable that, had he been successful, he would have made a fortune by them. But the vessel was wrecked and La Salle was left in poverty. He remained upon the Illinois river, heart-sick on account of his loss. His keen eye saw the importance of the immense unexplored realms whose portals he had scarcely crossed, and he formed a plan of attaching them indissolubly to France by a line of military posts extending from

the lakes to the gulf. To this end he built a fort near where Peoria stands and named it "Crevecœur," "Broken-Hearted." His resources being exhausted, he with his three companions in mid-winter passed through the wilderness on foot (fifteen hundred miles) to Fort Frontenac in Canada, to get supplies for those left at Fort Broken-Hearted. He soon returned bringing men and materials for building a large strong boat, to navigate unknown waters. Early in 1682 La Salle with his companions floated down the stream the entire length of the Mississippi, and in the grandeur of the scene and the grandeur of the work he had in view he forgot his own troubles; and filled with tumultuous joy he unfurled the banner of France on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and in honor of his sovereign he called the whole explored region Louisiana. He hastened back to Quebec. The voyage was long and very wearisome against the tide. From Quebec he went immediately to France. In a short time a colony of two hundred and eighty persons were en route to form a settlement on the lower Mississippi. The colonists sailed, but having no chart they passed by their destination and landed in Texas. On the Bay of St. Bernard La Salle erected a fort and took possession in the name of King Louis. This colony was very unfortunate, but the details are not given in history. We know that they were threatened with famine and that La Salle formed the heroic plan of marching through to Canada (two thousand miles); that he started, and some of his men mutinied, and killed him. The colonists left behind were nearly all massacred excepting a few children, who were taken captive.

Very soon another French expedition started for the mouth of the Mississippi under the command of D'Iborville. He entered the river and ascended for several hundreds of miles, making forts at different points. The French government with increasing vigor pushed forward its enterprise of establishing military posts at all points of strategic importance in that vast realm. There were forts on the lakes and strong forts on the Illinois, the Maumee, the Ohio (then called the Wabash), and the Mississippi. But the most beautiful of all the bounteous land they found in the valley of the Ohio, as they called all lands drained by the "beautiful river," which is now divided into many states.

England became extremely jealous of the "encroachments of the French." She claimed the whole country because her people had settled the coast. France claimed the territory drained by the great waters which the Frenchmen were the first to explore. Both nations, however, were willing to allow the Indian *some* rights to his own hunting grounds.

News of the French settlements in what is now the state of Ohio having reached the Virginia colonists, a party of them joined themselves into a body known as the "Ohio Company" and in March of 1749 they received a grant from George II of *five hundred thousand acres* between the Kanawha and the Monongahela, and the next season sent out a surveying party under Christopher Gist. It required a journey of several hundred miles through mountainous ridges and deep valleys, with only the paths of buffalos and the trails of the Indians to guide them. They

were a long time on the journey and returned to Virginia in 1751. The French in the meantime were by no means idle. They built Fort le Bœuf on French creek and Fort Venango on the Alleghany. About the same time the country south of Ohio was explored by Gist and a company of armed surveyors (among whom was Daniel Boone). In 1753 a road was opened by the English from Will's creek through the mountains and a small colony settled on the Youghiogheny. Among the Indians there was great uneasiness. The allegiance was uncertain. The French had been kind to them, but the English were the most powerful. The Miami tribes under the leadership of Half-King met in the spring of 1753 with Benjamin Franklin at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and made a treaty with the English. Governor Dinwiddie determined to try a final remonstrance with the French before proceeding to war, so a paper was drawn up setting forth the English claim to the valley of the Ohio and warning the authorities of France against further intrusion. The young surveyor who was asked to carry the paper from Williamsburg to General St. Pierre at Presque Isle on Lake Erie was George Washington. It was the last day in October—"Halloween" in the old country—1753, when this young man, accompanied by four comrades, an interpreter and Christopher Gist as guide, started on the long, cold journey. They reached the Youghiogheny and then floated down the stream to Pittsburgh. At Logstown Washington held a council with the Indians, and then hurried forward to Venango, thence by foot to Fort le Bœuf. Here the conference was held with St. Pierre. Washing-

ton was received with courtesy, but the French general would not enter into discussion with him. He said he was acting under military instructions, and would eject every Englishman from the valley of the Ohio. Washington retired as courteously as he had been received, and returned to Venango. Then with Gist as his sole companion he left the river and was soon lost to sight in the forest. He wore the robe of an Indian; he slept on a bed of frozen pine boughs; his robe was often frozen stiff; he took the north star for his guide; was fired at by prowling savages from coverts; lodged on one of the islands in the Alleghany until the river was frozen so he could cross; and again took to the forest. The young man on whom so much in after years would depend returned safe and well to the capital of Virginia, where he laid the reply of St. Pierre before the governor.

Meanwhile the Ohio Company had sent out thirty-three men commanded by Captain Trent to erect a fort at the source of the Ohio, the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, just below the site of Pittsburgh. There the first block house was built, and so they held the key to the Ohio valley.

It was only a short time before French boats came down the river and forced the surrender. Washington had been sent to Alexandria to enlist recruits, but all too late to save Trent's men from capture. The French occupied the fort and strengthened it, built barracks and laid the foundation of Fort du Quesne. To retake this fort the young surveyor, now Colonel Washington, set out from Will's creek in May, 1754. Washington with his handful of Virginian soldiers was com-

missioned to build a fort at the source of the Ohio and "to repel all who interrupted the English settlement in that country." In April they left Will's creek. They were obliged to drag their cannons. The roads were wretched, the hills many. There were no bridges, and their provisions very scanty. On the 26th of May the English reached the great meadows, and here Washington learned that the French were on their way to attack him. He caused a stockade to be immediately erected which he named Fort Necessity. After a conference with the Mingo chiefs he determined to be the aggressor. Two Indians followed the trail of the enemy and discovered their place of concealment. The French, on the alert, flew to arms. Washington commanded his soldiers to *fire* and that was a volley whose echoes were heard wherever there was a French settlement. The engagement was short and sharp. Jumonville, the French commander, and ten of his soldiers slept the long sleep, and twenty-one were taken prisoners. Not an Englishman was lost, but the commander wisely returned to Fort Necessity and waited for reinforcements. But one company of volunteers came, but this encampment in the wilderness was not an idle one, for under Washington's direction a road was cut for twenty miles in the direction of Fort du Quesne. He was expecting Indians to join him from the Muskingum and Miami, but they did not come. He scarcely could number four hundred in his whole command, and learning that General De Villiers, commanding the French forces, was approaching he abandoned the road making and wended his way back to Fort Necessity. He

wasted no time in getting back and had scarcely got safely there when the regiment of De Villiers came in sight and immediately surrounded the fort, which was on low ground. The French posted themselves on an eminence where they could look down into the fort and shoot with fatal effect. The Indians climbed into the tree tops and for nine hours a shower of leaden drops fell upon Washington's command. Seeing it was impossible to hold out until relief might come, Washington accepted the terms they offered him and on the 4th of July marched out of the fort and withdrew the garrison from the country.

Meantime an assembly of congress of the American colonies was being held at Albany. The first object was to bring about a treaty with the Iroquois Indians. The convention next considered how best the colonies might become a united government. Benjamin Franklin presented the draft of a constitution, which was finally adopted on the 10th of July. Philadelphia was to be the capital. The chief executive was to be a governor appointed by the king. Each colony should be represented in congress by not less than two or more than seven representatives. Copies of the constitution were transmitted to the several colonies, but in every instance the movement was received with disfavor. The English ministers also rejected it, saying that "the Americans were trying to make a government of their own."

During this time the French were making active preparations for war. General Braddock arrived in America on the 14th of April, and met the governors of the colonies at Alexandria. The plans of four cam-



paigns were agreed on. Lawrence of Nova Scotia was to complete the conquest of that province; Governor Johnson of New York was to capture Crown Point; Shirley of Massachusetts was to take Fort Niagara; Braddock himself was to lead the main army against Fort du Quesne.

General Braddock, commanding two thousand veterans, set out from Alexandria to Fort Cumberland in the latter part of April. He was joined by a few provincial troops. Washington became an aide-de-camp of Braddock, and as he was well acquainted with the savage mode of warfare he gave good advice to the British general, who invariably rejected it, and consequently, though he proudly marched at the head of twelve hundred chosen troops, he was obliged to retreat with a loss of twenty-six out of the eighty-two officers, and of the twelve hundred men seven hundred and fourteen were dead. The British soldiers never *saw* the enemy who were hidden among trees and stones. The next day the Indians returned to Fort du Quesne clad in the red coats and gold lace of the dead officers. Braddock was carried in the train of the fugitives. He died on the evening of the fourth day. The fugitives did not rest at Dunbar's camp. The artillery, baggage and stores had been destroyed. They beat a hasty retreat to Fort Cumberland and finally to Philadelphia.

The second campaign was the driving of the French colonists from their homes and the destruction of property by burning. The third campaign planned by Braddock was to be conducted by Shirley against Fort Niagara. He set out for the scene of action

from Albany with two thousand men. They spent four weeks at Owego in making their boats. Then high winds prevailed and sickness broke out in camp. The Indians deserted the English and on the 24th of October the force, still headed by Shirley, marched homeward. The fourth expedition, led by General William Johnson, was to capture Crown Point and to drive the French from Lake Champlain. They started early in August and proceeded to Lake George and laid out their camp. A week was spent in bringing their artillery and stores forward. Before reaching Lake George they had built Fort Edward on the Hudson above Albany. Dieskau, the French commandant at Crown Point, came with fourteen hundred French Canadians and Indians to capture Fort Edward. General Johnson ordered Colonel Williams and the Mohawk chief Hendrick to relieve the fort, taking with them twelve hundred men. But the relief party were ambushed by Dieskau's forces and driven back to Johnson's camp. The Canadians and French soldiers, unsupported by the Indians, then attacked the fort, and for five hours the rain of bullets was incessant. Nearly all of Dieskau's men were killed. At last the English troops charged across the field and routed them. The French general was mortally wounded. Two hundred and sixteen English were killed. General Johnson now constructed Fort William Henry on the site of the camp. The French during this time were fortifying Ticonderoga. This was at the close of 1755. The next year the command of the English soldiers was given to Governor Shirley. Washington at the head of the Virginian soldiers had





repelled the French and Indians in the Shenandoah. Franklin had been chosen commander of the Pennsylvania forces and built a fort on the Lehigh river and made a successful campaign. The expeditions which had been laid out for the year were the conquest of Quebec and the capture of Forts Frontenac, Toronto, Niagara and du Quesne. The command of the British forces was put in the hands of the Earl of Loudoun, General Abercrombie being second in command. In the last of April the general with two battalions of regulars sailed for New York and on the 17th of May, after two years of provincial war, Great Britain declared war against France.

It was July when Lord Loudoun took command of the Colonial army. The French, led by Montcalm, who succeeded Dieskau, besieged and captured Oswego. It was a valuable capture. Six vessels of war, three hundred boats, a hundred and twenty cannon, and three chests of money was their spoil. It was during this summer that the Delawares in western Pennsylvania rose in war and captured or killed more than a thousand people. In August Colonel Armstrong with three hundred volunteers marched against the Indian town of Kittanning and on the 8th of September gained a victory over them and burned their town. On the 20th of June, 1757, Lord Loudoun, with an army of six thousand regulars, sailed from New York to capture Louisburg. At Halifax Admiral Holburn joined him with a fleet of sixteen men of war, and on board were five thousand troops from the armies of England. But Loudoun, instead of going at once to Cape Breton, must wait awhile at Halifax and *then*

*sailed back to New York without so much as looking* at Louisburg. The daring French leader Montcalm with over seven thousand French Canadians and Indians advanced against Fort William Henry and for six days besieged it. There was no more ammunition in the garrison and so the fort was surrendered. The commander was Colonel Monro and there were five hundred English soldiers, but of what avail were they without ammunition. Honorable terms were granted to them by the French commander, who took possession on the 9th of August. The Indians came upon a quantity of spirits, left by the English, and in spite of Montcalm they fell upon the prisoners and massacred thirty of them.

During this year France had been so successful that not an English village remained in the basin of the St. Lawrence. Every cabin belonging to an Englishman was destroyed in the Ohio valley, and at the close of the year 1757 France possessed twenty times as much land in America as England.

Loudoun was deposed from the command of the American army. General Abercrombie was appointed to succeed him. William Pitt was at the head of the English ministry. Admiral Boscawen was put in command of the fleet, and General Amherst was to lead a division. Young Lord Howe was next in rank to Abercrombie. James Wolfe led a brigade and Colonel Richard Montgomery was at the head of a regiment. Three expeditions were planned for 1758—one to capture Louisburg, a second to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the third to retake Fort du Quesne, captured by the French the year before.

Amherst with ten thousand men reached Halifax on the 28th of May. Six days later the fleet was anchored before Louisburg. On the 21st of July three French vessels were burned in the harbor. The town was reduced to ashes. On the 28th Louisburg capitulated. Cape Breton and Prince Edward's island surrendered to Great Britain, and six thousand men of the garrison became prisoners of war. It was the 5th of July when General Abercrombie with fifteen thousand men marched against Ticonderoga. The country about the fort was very unfavorable to military operation. They came upon the French pickets three mornings later. A sharp skirmish ensued. The French were overwhelmed and Lord Howe was killed in the early part of the contest. The English division had arranged to carry Ticonderoga by assault. The battle for four hours was terrible. About six in the evening the English were driven back. The English loss in killed and wounded was nineteen hundred and sixteen. This was a greater loss than befell the English in any battle during the revolution.

The defeated English now retreated to Fort George. Not long afterward Colonel Bradstreet with three thousand men was sent to take Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario. The place was poorly defended and capitulated after two days' siege, and the fortress was destroyed. This success overbalanced the failure at Ticonderoga.

General Forbes marched with nine thousand men against Fort du Quesne late in the summer. Washington led the provincial army. The main body moved slowly, but General Grant with the advance

pressed on to within a few miles of the fort. Advancing as other English commanders had, he was like them ambushed and lost fully one-third of his force. On the 24th of November Washington was within ten miles of du Quesne. During the night the garrison took alarm, set fire to the fort and floated down the Ohio. On the 25th the victorious army marched in, raised the English flag and named the place Pittsburgh.

And now General Amherst was promoted to be commander-in-chief of American forces. In the beginning of the summer of 1759 the combined British and American forces numbered about fifty thousand men. The whole French army was not much more than seven thousand. Three campaigns were planned for this year—General Prideaux to conduct an expedition against Niagara, Amherst to lead the main division against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and General Wolfe to proceed up the St. Lawrence against the city of Quebec.

Niagara was invaded by Prideaux on the 10th of July. The French General D'Aubry marched to the relief of the fort with twelve hundred men. General Prideaux was killed on the 15th by the bursting of a mortar. Sir William Johnson succeeded in command and placed his forces to intercept the approaching French army. D'Aubry's army came in sight on the morning of the 24th. There was a desperate fight. The French were completely routed, and the next day Niagara surrendered, and the French force of more than six hundred became prisoners of war, and at the same time Amherst was marching with an army of



eleven thousand men against Ticonderoga. On the 22nd of July the forces were disembarked where Abercrombie had landed. The French did not dare to stand before such an overwhelming force, and on the 26th the garrison, having partly destroyed the fort, abandoned it and retreated to Crown Point. Five days later this point was deserted and the united forces entrenched themselves on Isle-aux-Noix, in the Sorel river.

Early in the spring General Wolfe began ascending the St. Lawrence. He had a force of almost eight thousand men, assisted by a fleet of forty-four vessels. The entire force arrived at the Isle of Orleans, four miles below Quebec, on the 27th of June. The English camp was pitched at the upper end of the island. Wolfe's vessels gave him command of the river, and the southern bank was undefended. General Monckton was sent to seize Point Levi the night of the 29th. The lower town was soon in ruins, and the upper town badly injured, but the fortress remained impregnable. General Wolfe crossed the north channel and encamped on the east bank of the Montmorenci the 9th of July. This river at low water was fordable. A severe battle was fought at the fords of the river on the 31st and the English driven back with heavy loss. After losing nearly five hundred men Wolfe withdrew to his camp. But the exposure and fatigue threw him into a fever and for many days he was confined to his bed in his tent. A council of officers was held and the man of indomitable spirit proposed a second assault; but this was overruled. They concluded to ascend the St. Lawrence and climb

the Plains of Abraham behind the city. So the lower camp was broken up and on September 6th the troops were carried to Point Levi. Wolfe then took his army quite a distance up the river, he meantime busying himself with an examination of the northern bank, hoping to find some pathway up the frowning cliffs to the plains in the rear of Quebec. On the evening of September 12th the English entered their boats and silently dropped down the river to a place called Wolfe's Cove. It was with great difficulty that the soldiers climbed the precipitous cliff. The Canadian guard on the summit was dispersed, and at the dawn of day Wolfe got his army into battle array. Montcalm was astonished when the news was brought him and he ordered his soldiers from the trenches on the Montmorenci to be thrown between Quebec and the English. The battle began with terrific cannonading, and then Montcalm attempted to turn the English flank, but was driven back, and the Canadians and Indians routed and the French regulars were thrown into great confusion. Wolfe, in the lead, was wounded in the wrist, but never halted. At the decisive moment he fell, pierced through the breast with a bullet. "They run, they run," cried a soldier. "Who run?" "The French are flying everywhere," said his attendant. "Do they run already? Then I die happy." Montcalm in a vain attempt to rally his forces received his death wound. "Shall I survive?" he asked the surgeon. "But a few hours at most," was the reply. "So much the better," said the dying hero. "I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec." It was five days later when Quebec sur-

surrendered and an English garrison was stationed in the citadel.

The next spring France made an effort to recover her loss, but it was unavailing, and on the 8th of September Montreal, the last important post of the French, surrendered to General Amherst, and Canada became an English province.

The Cherokees of Tennessee rose against the English in the spring of 1760. Fort Loudoun in the north-east part of the state was besieged by the Indians and forced to surrender. Honorable terms were promised, but as soon as the surrender was over the garrison was massacred, so General Amherst sent Colonels Montgomery and Grant to punish the savages, and after a hard campaign they were driven into the mountains and compelled to beg for peace.

For full three years the war between France and England was continued on the high seas, but the English fleets were always victorious. A treaty of peace was concluded on the 10th of February, 1763, at Paris. All the French possessions in North America east of the Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, and thence through lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico, were surrendered to Great Britain, and at the same time Spain, with whom England had been at war, ceded east and west Florida to the English crown. And so America belonged to England from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

EVERYTHING tended to freedom of thought and speech in the new country. The right of arbitrary government was claimed by Great Britain and always contested by the colonists. Witness the many kinds of government enforced upon the colonies, but all attempts to find the right one were unavailing. Ever since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 until 1775 there was ever an agitation of the question. The influence of France, it is true, had something to do with it. The French hoped in ceding Canada to Great Britain that it might secure the independence of America. But England feared American independence so much that it was even proposed in parliament to re-cede Canada to France, so that the growth of American states might be checked. The American people were at heart republicans; the English were monarchists. The king had never shown his face to his American subjects, and so many royal officers had been tyrants and most dishonorable men that America had seen enough of foreign institutions, and for some time the colonists had managed matters to suit themselves and found the system a great improvement on the old way.

The matter was discussed, and in 1755 John Adams, then a young school teacher, wrote in his diary, "In another century all Europe will not be able to subdue

us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." And another cause of the revolution was the fact that, bad and dissolute as former kings had been, George III was worst of all. He was a man without reason. He was stupid and dull, and *stubborn* as such a man in such a place could be, and his ministers were most of them of the same pattern. It was in America like the gathering of a great storm. Some clouds were dark and flew fast and others were little mutterings of thunder, and then the sun would shine out, but the clouds would spring up in another quarter and the atmosphere was growing thicker, and the thunder grew louder, and the wind moaned through the trees. And then when the importation act came in 1733, exacting exorbitant duties on the things they thought could not be produced in America; and in 1750 forbidding that iron or steel should be made in this country; and then that pine trees outside the door yard should not be cut down; and a year later, when writs of assistance were issued to enable the king's officers to look through every house for goods that might have been smuggled in without duty; and, worst of all, when the stamp act was enforced, allowing persons to write legal documents on nothing but stamped paper and pay a tremendous price for the stamping, too, then the clouds came together and the lightning and thunder was like that of the Hymalayan mountains.

The news of this abominable outrage roused righteous wrath. The bells of Philadelphia and Boston rang a funeral peal. In New York a copy of the stamp act was carried though the streets, with a

death's head nailed to it, and a placard with the inscription, "*The folly of England and the ruin of America.*" There were many old loyalists among the members of the assemblies, but the younger representatives had no hesitation in expressing *their* sentiments. In the Virginia house of burgesses the scene was one that will be rehearsed as long as patriotism exists. Patrick Henry was the youngest member of the house, and he with old-time courtesy waited for some older delegates to lead in opposition to parliament. But the older members said naught. Some of them even went home. Offended beyond measure at the cringing aspect of the assembly, he tore from an old law book a blank leaf and drew up a series of resolutions, declaring that the Virginians were Englishmen with English rights; that the colonists were not bound to yield obedience to any law imposing taxation on them; and that whoever said the contrary was an enemy to the country. The debate that ensued was violent. Washington and Thomas Jefferson were among the audience. Washington was a delegate, Jefferson was a student. Henry's eloquence overpowered the opposition. "Cæsar had his Brutus," said he; "Charles I had his Cromwell, and George III—" "*Treason, treason,*" cried the loyalists, springing to their feet. "—And George III may profit by their example," continued Henry, and then added, "If that be treason, make the most of it."

The resolutions were put to the house and carried, but on the next day, Henry not being present, the most violent paragraph was repealed. In the assemblies of New York and Massachusetts similar resolu-

tions were adopted. James Otis proposed an American congress and it was held in New York on the 7th of October, nine of the colonies being represented. Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was president.

*A declaration of rights* was adopted setting forth that the American colonists as Englishmen could not consent to be taxed but by their own representatives. Memorials were sent to parliament and a petition to the king.

The stamp act was to take effect on the 1st of November. Great quantities of the stamped paper had been sent to America, but everywhere it was rejected or destroyed. At first all legal business was suspended. The court houses were shut up, and not even a marriage license could be legally issued without using the abhorred paper. But it was not long till the offices were opened, and business went on just as it had before. But no stamped paper was used. The merchants of Boston, New York and Philadelphia entered into a compact to purchase no more goods of Great Britain until the stamp act should be repealed. There were eminent statesmen in England who espoused the cause of America. In the house of commons the eloquent Mr. Pitt delivered a powerful address. He said, "You have no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted." On the 18th of March the stamp act was repealed, but at the same time resolutions were added declaring that parliament had *the right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever*. The repeal of the stamp act brought joy to both England and America. In a few months a new cabinet was formed with Pitt at its head, but while he was

confined at home by sickness Mr. Townshend took the opportunity to bring about a new scheme for taxing the colonists. On the 29th of June, 1767, an act was passed imposing a duty on glass and tea, painters' colors and paper. Then America was vexed beyond endurance, and another agreement was entered into by all American merchants not to purchase British goods. Newspapers were filled with denunciations of parliament.

Early in 1768 the assembly of Massachusetts adopted a circular calling upon other colonies for assistance to obtain redress of grievances. But the ministers thought this a dreadful proceeding and asked the assembly to rescind their action, and more, to express "*regret for their rash and hasty proceeding.*"

In June a sloop was seized by Boston custom house officers. Her captain was charged with evading payment of duty. In these days the gathering would have been called a mob which attacked the houses of the officers, who were glad to seek safety in Castle William. General Gage was ordered to bring from Halifax a regiment of regulars to overawe these audacious persons. The regiment arrived October 1st—seven hundred of them—and with fixed bayonets they paraded into the capital of Massachusetts. In February, 1769, the people of Massachusetts were declared *rebels* and the governor was ordered to arrest those suspected and send them to England for trial. The general assembly met this order with defiant resolutions. Similar action was taken by other assemblies.

In North Carolina Governor Tryon attempted to



suppress an insurrection, but the insurgents fled across the mountains and founded the state of Tennessee.

The soldiers in New York early in 1770 cut down a liberty pole which stood in the park. There was a brisk little fight over it and the colonists won.

On the 5th of March a serious difficulty occurred in Boston. Captain Preston's company of the city guards were surrounded and hooted at and dared to fire. But the soldiers were *not* to be dared, and after a little delay fired a volley into the thickest of the crowd. Three citizens were killed and several were wounded. This is the *Boston massacre*. Captain Preston and his company were arrested and tried for murder and two of the company were committed for manslaughter.

Parliament now was generous to revoke taxes on everything but *tea*, and the people to whom tea was their sole dissipation said, *We will use no more tea till the duty shall be unconditionally repealed.*

In 1772 an act was passed that the salaries of the officers of Massachusetts should be paid without consent of the assembly. About this time a royal schooner anchored at Providence. Her name was the *Gaspee*. She looked wicked. A band of patriots boarded her, and some way she got burned up before she had been there long enough to do any mischief. In 1773 parliament removed the export duty on tea shipped from England, which lowered the price of it so much that they thought that when the cheaper tea was offered in America it would be bought up at once without question of import duty. Ships were loaded with tea for America. It is true it reached American

shores, but was not used as it had been heretofore. The ship load which came to Charleston, S. C., was stored in musty cellars, and as nothing more quickly ruins tea than bad odors it was entirely spoiled. At New York and Philadelphia the ships were forbidden to enter, and Boston authorities would not allow the cargo landed. On December 16th there was a large town meeting and seven thousand people attended. Adams and Quincy both spoke to the crowd. Evening came on and the meeting was about to adjourn, when a war whoop rang through the air. Fifty men disguised as Indians walked quickly to the wharf where the ships containing the tea were riding at anchor. These apparent Indians boarded the ships and with great speed and strength unloaded these vessels with a swiftness not since equalled. Three hundred and forty chests of tea were dumped into the bay, regardless of the old injunction, "Unless the tea kettle boiling be, filling the tea pot spoils the tea."

Parliament at once took measures for revenge. The Boston port bill was passed March, 1774. It enacted that no kind of merchandise should any longer be landed or shipped to Boston wharves. The custom house was removed to Salem, but the people of Salem would not have it in their town either. The people of Marblehead gave free use of their warehouses to the Boston merchants.

When it was known in Virginia that the port bill had been passed the burgesses entered a protest on their journal. Governor Dunmore, a strong loyalist, dismissed the assembly and instructed them to go to their homes, but they continued their meeting at

another house, without asking permission from the governor, either.

The 20th of May parliament annulled the charter of Massachusetts. The people were declared rebels, and the governor was ordered to send abroad for trial all persons who should resist the officers.

The second colonial congress assembled at Philadelphia. Eleven colonies were represented. One address was sent to the king; another to the English nation; and another to the people of Canada. A resolution was adopted to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain; and parliament retaliated by ordering General Gage to reduce the colonists by force. A fleet and ten thousand soldiers were sent to his assistance. The British at once seized Boston Neck and fortified it. The stores at Cambridge and Charlestown were carried to Boston, and the general assembly received orders to disband. But ordering and being obeyed, parliament soon learned, was not one and the same thing. Instead of disbanding, the members voted to equip an army of twelve thousand men for defence.

No sooner were the intentions of General Gage known than the people of Boston began to remove their ammunition to Concord. They put it in carts and carefully hid the contents from view. But of course there was some tale bearer who carried the news to General Gage. He despatched eight hundred men to Concord to capture the stores on the night of the 18th of April. The plans of the British were made with great secrecy, but every movement was watched, and this was the signal: If any move-

ment appeared among them, Paul Revere had said to William Dawes :

“If the British march  
By land or sea from the town to-night,  
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch  
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—  
One, if by land, and two, if by sea ;  
And I on the opposite shore will be,  
Ready to ride and spread the alarm  
Through every Middlesex village and farm,  
For the country folk to be up and to arm.”

\* \* \* \* \*

Meanwhile, his friend, through alley and street,  
Wanders and watches with eager ears,  
Till in the silence around him he hears  
The muster of men at the barrack doors,  
The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,  
And the measured tread of the grenadiers,  
Marching down to their boats on the shore.

Then he climbed the tower of the **Old North Church**  
By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,  
To the belfry-chamber overhead,  
And startled the pigeons from their perch  
On the sombre rafters, that round him made  
Masses and moving shapes of shade,—  
By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,  
To the highest window in the wall,  
Where he paused to listen and look down  
A moment on the roofs of the town,  
And the moonlight flowing over all.

\* \* \* \* \*

For suddenly all his thoughts are bent  
On a shadowy something far away,  
Where the river widens to meet the bay,—  
A line of black that bends and floats  
On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,  
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride

On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.

\* \* \* \* \*

But mostly he watched with eager search  
The belfry-tower of the Old North Church,  
As it rose above the graves on the hill,  
Lonely and spectral and sombre and still.  
And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's height  
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!  
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,  
But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight  
A second lamp in the belfry burns!

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,  
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,  
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark  
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet:  
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,  
The fate of a nation was riding that night;  
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,  
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

It was two in the morning when a hundred and thirty minute men were on the common of Lexington, ready for the fray. It was five o'clock when Pitcairn with his troops came in sight. The minute men were led by Captain Parker. With scant courtesy Pitcairn rode up and exclaimed, "Disperse, ye villains! Throw down your arms!" The minute-men were immovable, and Pitcairn cried "Fire!" The first volley of the revolution was fired, and sixteen patriots fell dead or wounded. The rest fired a few shots and dispersed. The British hurried to Concord, but the stores were already in a place of safety, and little harm was done. While the British were ransacking the town the minute men came upon a body of British soldiers guarding the north bridge. The officers of the minute men gave command to fire upon them. Two were

killed and they began retreating to Lexington, six miles away, and all the six miles the battle kept up. On the road, hidden behind fences and barns, the patriots poured a constant shower of lead into the British ranks. Once it seemed as though the whole British force would be compelled to surrender. The American loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-four wounded, five missing. The British loss was two hundred and seventy-three.

A few days later and the "spark kindled by the fire" of Lexington had touched the heart of every colonist, and twenty thousand were near Boston. From Roxbury to Chelsea a line of entrenchment was drawn. It was the intention to drive Gage into the sea. John Stark came down from New Hampshire with the militia. Israel Putnam, with leathern waistcoat on, not stopping to change his clothes, hurried to the nearest town, mounted a horse and rode to Cambridge, *one hundred miles, in eighteen hours*. Rhode Island sent her men, commanded by Nathaniel Greene, and the provincials of New Haven came with Benedict Arnold. Ethan Allen with two hundred and seventy men marched against Ticonderoga. Benedict Arnold went with the expedition as a private. The force reached Lake George opposite Ticonderoga on the evening of the 9th of May. Early the next morning eighty-three men, with Allen at the head, succeeded in crossing without being seen from the fort. With a rush they gained the gateway of the door. The sentinel was driven in, the patriots followed him, nay, rushed after him. Allen sprang to the commandant's quarters. "Surrender this fort instantly." "By what authority?"

*"In the name of the great Jehovah and the continental congress,"* said Allen, waving his sword to give emphasis. There was no alternative. The garrison were made prisoners and sent to Connecticut. By this daring exploit great quantities of military stores were secured. Two days later Crown Point surrendered. Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne arrived at Boston. There were now fully ten thousand British troops in Boston this, the 25th of May, and it was rumored that Gage was to sally out of Boston and burn surrounding towns and devastate the country. To anticipate this movement the Americans set about fortifying Bunker Hill, which commanded the peninsula of Charlestown. Colonel Prescott was sent with a thousand men to entrench the hill on the night of the 16th of June. They reached the eminence, but Prescott and his engineer did not approve the situation and proceeded down the peninsula to Breed's Hill, within cannon range of Boston. During the night a redoubt was thrown up. So near were they to the enemy that they could hear the sentry's night call, "All is well." General Gage, as soon as it was light enough to distinguish the redoubt, ordered the ships in the harbor to cannonade the American position. The British batteries on Copp's Hill also opened fire, and very soon after twelve o'clock noon Generals Howe and Pigot landed at Morton's Point with three thousand British veterans. There were about fifteen hundred Americans. Generals Putnam and Warren served as privates in the trenches. Charlestown was burned by the British as they advanced. The housetops held thousands of spectators who

watched the battle. The British troops made a **grand** appearance. The Americans were quiet and silent until the fixed bayonets were within one hundred and fifty feet. Then there was a flash and a roll like thunder peal. The first rank had disappeared and the rest retreated ; but General Howe rallied them to the charge. Again all was quiet till they were very close, and then volley after volley came so quickly that the column was broken and driven to flight. The British fleet now brought their vessels to bear upon the American works. Then for the third time the British soldiers charged up the hillside with fixed bayonets. The ammunition of the Americans was now almost gone. This they used, however, with good effect. There came a lull and the British clambered over the ramparts. They were met with a volley of stones. It had been a gallant fight, but for want of ammunition they were driven out of the trenches at bayonet point. The Americans lost a hundred and fifteen killed, among them General Warren, three hundred and five wounded and thirty-two prisoners. The British loss was one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded.

The battle of Bunker Hill inspired instead of discouraged the colonists. The news was carried to the south, almost as they carried the news from "Ghent to Aix." A spirit of resolute determination was aroused in every heart and the people talked of the United Colonies of America. Indeed, a declaration of independence was made at a convention held in Charlotte, North Carolina.

On the day that Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga



he colonial congress came together at Philadelphia. Franklin and Patrick Henry, John Adams and Samuel Adams were there and George Washington and Jefferson a little later. Another and last appeal was addressed to the king, and he was told that the colonists preferred war to slavery. John Adams made an address in the early part of the session. Among other things he spoke of the colonists' need of a commander-in-chief, and of the qualities necessary for such a high officer, and he concluded by nominating George Washington of Virginia. On the 15th of June congress confirmed the nomination. The wisdom which saved the wreck of Braddock's army, his courage and his education made him an invincible leader and worthy to be called in later years *the father of his country*. He was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 11th of February (old style), 1732. At the age of eleven his father died, and his mother undoubtedly did very much towards forming his character. His education was thorough in the limited branches which he had opportunity to follow. Surveying was his favorite study. When he was only sixteen he was sent to survey a tract of land on the south Potomac. The important duties he performed while with the Ohio Company and his campaign with Braddock have been given in the wars with the French and Indians.

He accepted the appointment of commander-in-chief with great dignity, and at once set out to join the army at Cambridge. The great elm under which he took command is as fresh and well preserved to-day as is Washington's memory in the heart of all

true patriots. Congress had voted to equip twenty thousand men, but there was no money to pay for such equipment. Washington had a force of fourteen thousand five hundred volunteers; they were without any military discipline and insubordinate. The supplies of war were very insignificant. But Washington did not flinch from the trust he had accepted. So the army was organized and arranged in three divisions. The right wing, stationed at Roxbury, was under command of General Ward. The left rested on Prospect Hill, commanded by General Charles Lee. The center, under the commander, lay at Cambridge. In all the colonies the king's authority was not recognized. Lord Dunmore of Virginia was driven from his office, proclaimed freedom to the slaves and attempted to raise a company of loyalists, but was defeated near Norfolk by the patriots. The Americans hoped for aid from Canada. In order to encourage the people of that country to help them, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were ordered to proceed against St. John and Montreal. They reached St. John on the 10th of September, but could not at first take it; but afterward General Montgomery succeeded in capturing the fort. Montreal capitulated on the 13th of November. With three hundred men Montgomery proceeded against Quebec. Colonel Arnold had in the meantime brought a thousand men from Cambridge. The march was very hard and the suffering intense before they climbed the Plains of Abraham. At Point aux Trembles he was joined by Montgomery, who assumed command of the force, which did not contain nine hundred men.

Quebec was defended by vastly superior numbers. Montgomery with his little force besieged the fort for three weeks and then staked everything on an assault. Before break of day on December 31st, 1775, the first division under Montgomery attacked the lower town. The second division, led by Arnold, attempted to carry the Prescott gate by storm. As Montgomery's men were rushing forward a battery before them burst forth with grape shot and the gallant commander was no more. The men were broken-hearted for the loss of their loved commander and they retreated to Wolf's Cove above the city. Arnold had fought his way into the lower town. While leading the charge he was severely wounded and carried in the rear. Captain Morgan took command and led his brave men through the narrow streets in their retreat, till overwhelmed and compelled to surrender. Arnold retired to a point three miles above the city, but the small-pox broke out in the camp. Quebec was strengthened, and the Americans evacuated Canada the following June.

King George was in no hurry to answer the petition of the appeal of congress, and when he did it was rejected with utter contempt. His answer only hastened the day of independence. In the meantime General Gage had been superseded by General Howe in command of the British troops in Boston. Through the whole long winter Washington had besieged the city. When the spring of 1776 came, he felt strong enough to attempt an assault. The officers of his staff thought it was a great risk, and so another plan was adopted—that of seizing Dorchester Heights

and driving Howe out of Boston. For two days the British were annoyed by the American batteries till their attention was concentrated on that division. Then the night of March 4th a detachment went out under cover of darkness and reached the heights unseen, but when day broke Howe knew that he must carry the American position or else abandon the city. So he ordered two thousand four hundred men to storm the heights before nightfall. Washington visited the trenches and exhorted his men. It was the anniversary of the Boston massacre. A battle was imminent, but ere the British were in readiness a storm arose that made the harbor impassable. For a whole day it blew and before the next morning the American fortifications were so strong that the idea of an assault had to be given up, and General Howe decided that the best—indeed, the only—way to do was to leave the capital of New England. And after some days there came about an agreement between Washington and Howe that the latter might retire from Boston unmolested provided the city should not be burned. The whole British force marched down to their ships and sailed away on the 17th of March.

The whole country was overjoyed. The 20th Washington with his army made a formal entry and received an ovation. Congress ordered a gold medal struck in honor of Washington's victory over the enemy. Shortly after this the commander-in-chief repaired with his army to New York. General Lee came with the Connecticut forces and reached the city just in time to prevent the attempt of Sir Henry Clinton from marching upon the town. The British

fleet had arrived off Sandy Hook. Clinton sailed southward and was joined by Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, with twenty-five hundred men. Their intention was to capture Charleston. The Carolinians were commanded by General Lee. They came from every part of the state and flocked to Charleston. The city was fortified and the entrance to the harbor was commanded by a fort on Sullivan's Island.

The British squadron came in sight on the 4th of June and on the 28th the British fleet began bombarding the fortress in command of Colonel Moultrie. The vessels of the fleet poured a tempest of balls upon the fort, but as it was built of palmetto bullets were of little avail. They shot away the flag staff and Sergeant Jasper leaped from the wall, recovered it and nailed it back again. At nightfall the British were obliged to withdraw. They had lost two hundred men. The garrison had lost thirty-two. When the British had made needed repairs to their ships they set sail for New York.

During the summer the American forces had been increased to twenty-seven thousand men, but only about half that number were to be counted on. Great Britain was making immense preparations. She had made a treaty with some of the Hessian states and hired seventeen thousand of these to fight against America. Twenty-five thousand English troops had been levied, and a million of dollars devoted to the expenses of the war.

We have already learned of the doings of the second colonial congress and of Richard Henry Lee's resolution declaring the united colonies to be free and

independent states. This resolution after a long and exciting debate was held for final consideration until the meeting of the assembly on July 1st. On the 11th of June a committee consisting of Robert E. Livingstone, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were appointed to make the final declaration. The committee's report was laid before congress on the 1st day of July. On the 2nd Lee's resolution was adopted; on the 3rd the formal declaration was debated, and on the 4th unanimously adopted. The old bell in the state house rang out the news of freedom, and enthusiastic applause was the response. The king's arms were torn down and burned in the street. There were huge bonfires at Charleston, Williamsburg and Savannah. At Boston the people assembled at Faneuil Hall to hear the declaration read. At New York the people pulled down the statue of George III *and cast it into bullets*. Washington ordered the declaration read at the head of each brigade. As all school children are taught the declaration of independence, as it is always read in every Fourth of July gathering, it will be only necessary here to give the leading principles. "All men are created free and equal; governments are instituted for the welfare of the people; that the people have a right to alter their government; that the government of George III had become destructive to liberty; that the king's tyranny over American subjects was no longer endurable; and that therefore the United States of America are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

About this time General Howe landed nine thou-

sand men on Staten Island, and Clinton came from his siege at Charleston, and Admiral Howe from England. The entire British force near New York numbered thirty thousand, but about half of them were Hessians. Washington's army was meager in numbers as well as knowing little of discipline. Lord Howe's instructions were to try conciliatory measures with the Americans. So he sent a messenger to General Washington with a dispatch addressed to "*George Washington, Esquire.*" Washington refused to receive a communication which did not recognize his official position. Howe then sent another message directed "*George Washington, etc., etc., etc.,*" and the bearer insisted that the and-so-forths might mean general of the American army. It was known to Washington that Howe's authority extended only to granting pardons, and to this second message Washington replied "that since no offense had been given no pardon was required."

And now Lord Howe and his brother commenced hostilities. The British, numbering ten thousand, landed on Long Island. The eight thousand Americans were posted about Brooklyn. General Grant of the British army took his division to Greenwood cemetery, where he met General Stirling with fifteen hundred Americans, and the battle began. This was the morning of the 27th of August, and in this part of the field there were no decisive results. General Heister, in command of the British center, advanced beyond Flatbush and engaged the main body of the Americans under General Sullivan. The Hessians gained very little ground, until Sullivan was suddenly alarmed by

the noise of battle on his left and rear. General Putnam had neglected to guard the passes on the left of the American army. During the night General Clinton had occupied the heights above the Jamaica road and now his division came down by way of Bedford. Sullivan found himself surrounded and cut off. They fought gallantly. Some broke through the British ranks, some were scattered, many were killed or taken prisoners. Cornwallis, in attempting to cut off Stirling's retreat, was repulsed. Most of Stirling's men reached the American lines at Brooklyn. Generals Stirling, Sullivan and Woodhull were taken prisoners. Nearly a thousand patriots were killed or missing. It seemed as though the British would have little trouble in capturing the rest, and Washington wisely withdrew to New York. It was a dangerous enterprise. On the evening of the 29th the embarkation of the American army began. Through the short night with muffled oars the boatmen sped swiftly and silently. The British made the discovery at daybreak, and rushing to the American entrenchments found—a few worthless guns.

The defeat was almost fatal to the American army. They were undisciplined, remember, and the loss so great, the numbers of the enemy so overpowering, was it any wonder that these men, fresh from their homes, were discouraged? It was only by constant exertion and great personal attraction that Washington was enabled to keep his army together. The British fleet came and anchored within cannon shot. Then Washington returned to Harlem Heights, and on September 15th the British chose a landing place three miles



above New York. They extended their lines across the island and took possession of the city.

On the 16th there was a skirmish between the advanced guards, and this time the British were driven back with a loss of a hundred men. Howe embarked his forces on the 16th of October, sailed down Long Island sound and landed his troops near Westchester, his object being to cut off communication between the American army and the New England states. Washington divined the movement and faced the British east of Harlem river, and there was a battle fought at White Plains on the 28th. Howe began the engagement with a cannonade, which was replied to "right saucily." The Americans were driven from one position, but entrenched themselves immediately in another. But when darkness came down Washington withdrew to the heights of North Castle. Howe remained a few days longer and then marched back to New York. Washington crossed the west bank of the Hudson and took position at Fort Lee. Four thousand men were left at North Castle under General Lee. Fort Washington on Manhattan island contained four thousand men under Colonel Magaw. The skill shown in the construction of this fort was admired by General Washington, and he made the acquaintance of the young engineer, who was only twenty years of age, and in after years became the famous Alexander Hamilton. The 16th of November saw the surrender of Fort Washington and the jails were filled to overflowing with its garrison. Two days later Cornwallis captured Fort Lee. The army was now reduced to three thousand and with Washington

retreated to Newark, followed closely by Cornwallis and Knyphausen. The provincials kept on to Princeton and then went to Trenton on the Delaware. Nothing but the skill and undaunted energy of Washington saved the last of his force from ruin.

Cornwallis had no boats and so Washington had this advantage over him. With his men he crossed the Delaware. The British army were stationed in towns and villages east of the Delaware. Trenton was held by two thousand Hessians under Colonel Rahl. It was well known that as soon as the river should be thoroughly frozen over the British would march into Philadelphia, and congress adjourned to Baltimore. The very day that Washington crossed the Delaware Admiral Parker's fleet took the islands of Rhode Island and Conanicut, and the American squadron under Commander Hopkins was blockaded in Blackstone river. While on his retreat across New Jersey Washington had despatched a messenger to General Lee at North Castle to join the main army as soon as possible. The general marched at once with his command as far as Morristown, and took up his quarters at Basking Ridge. But he had the misfortune to be captured himself by a squad of cavalry who carried him away to New York. Sullivan at once took command of Lee's division and wasted no time in joining the commander-in-chief. The entire American force was little more than six thousand. But "there is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken in the flood, leads on to victory." This was the tide which led the American forces to glory. Washington observed in the disposition of the British forces an

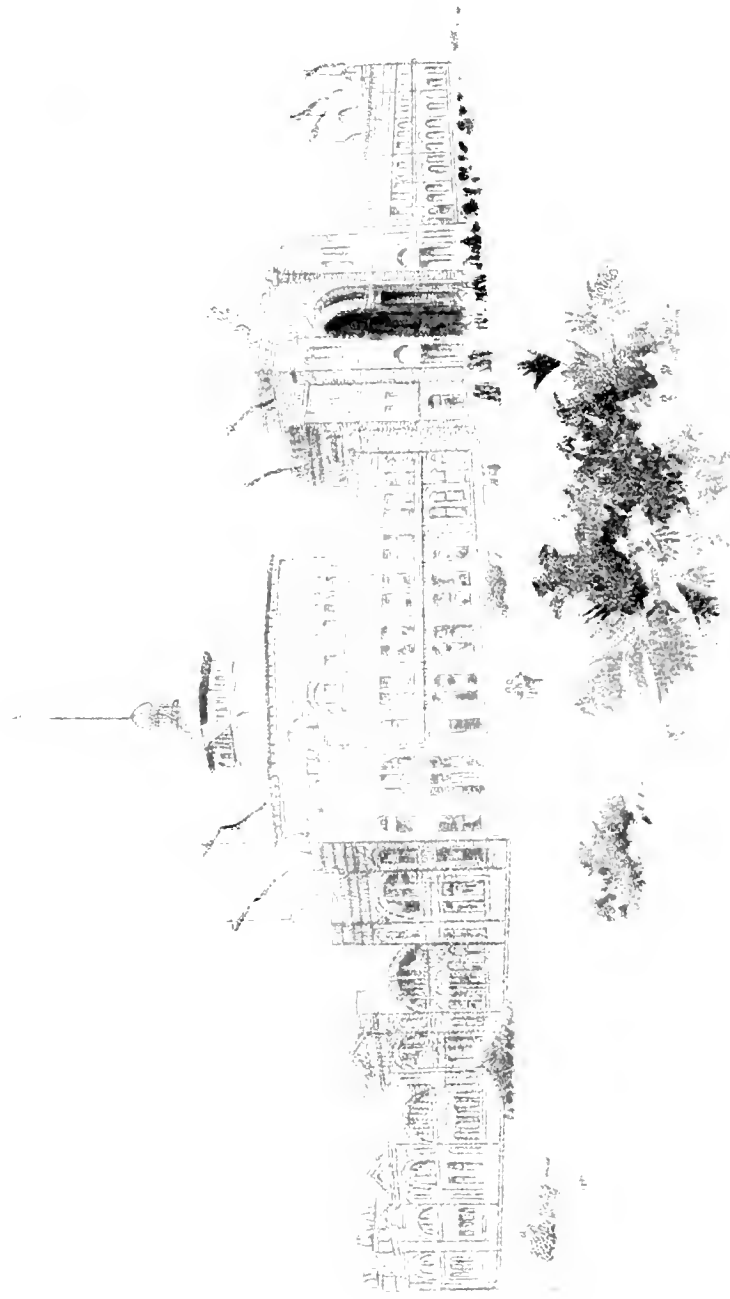
opportunity to rout them. The Hessians on the east side of the river were spread out from Trenton to Burlington. Washington's design was to cross the Delaware and strike the detachment at Trenton, before a concentration of the enemy's forces could be effected. So he arranged his army in three divisions. The first, commanded by Cadwallader, was to cross the river at Bristol. General Ewing was to pass over a little below Trenton. Washington with twenty-four hundred men was to cross nine miles above Trenton, march down the river and assault the town. Christmas night this work was to be done. The Delaware was full of broken ice which deterred Cadwallader and Ewing from crossing, but Washington crossed and then divided his army into two columns and rapidly marched down to Trenton. It was eight the next morning when the town was attacked from both directions simultaneously. The Hessians hurried out of their quarters and tried to get into line. Colonel Rahl was mortally wounded; nearly a thousand Hessians threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Before night had again fallen Washington, his army and whole body of captives, were safe on the other side of the Delaware. This victory was to the despairing Americans like the sunshine to buried miners. The militia flocked to the general's standard, and fourteen hundred soldiers, whose term of enlistment now expired, re-entered the service, and Robert Morris, the great financier, came forward with his fortune to the support of his country.

Three days later Washington again crossed the Delaware. There all the American detachments were

ordered to assemble. General Heath, who was stationed at Peekskill, received orders to move into New Jersey. The British fell back from their outposts and concentrated at Princeton. Cornwallis resumed command in person, and so closed the year A. D. 1776.

In 1777, January 1st, Washington's army at Trenton numbered some five thousand men. The next day Cornwallis approached with a vastly superior force. Through the afternoon there were several skirmishes along the roads east of Trenton. Washington took up a new position south of Assanpink creek. The British, attempting to force a passage, were driven back, and Cornwallis deferred the main attack until the morrow. Washington called a council of war immediately after night, and it was determined to leave the camp, pass the British left flank, and strike the enemy at Princeton. The army was "shod with silence." The baggage was removed to Burlington. The camp fires were kindled as usual and not allowed to go down all night, and when the sun rose the British saw only an empty field. At the same time of day Washington was entering Princeton, and the force that had been stationed at Princeton was on the march to join Cornwallis. The Americans met them in the edge of the village and the battle was on. The British charged bayonets and the militia gave way in confusion. General Mercer was mortally wounded, but the Pennsylvania regulars, led by the commander-in-chief, stood their ground. Washington, cool and calm, collected his men and routed the enemy, who lost four hundred and thirty men in killed, wounded and missing.

Fearing the approach of Cornwallis, Washington



GOVERNMENT BUILDING

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893



hurried north and on January 5th took a position in Morristown. Cornwallis returned to New Brunswick. In a remarkably short time the patriots had regained New Jersey. Cornwallis kept gradually contracting his lines until his whole force was in the narrow space between New Brunswick and Amboy. Early in the spring the American stores at Peekskill were destroyed by the British, and Cornwallis surprised General Lincoln on the Raritan April 13th, but Lincoln made a retreat on the 25th of the month. General Tryon, commanding two thousand men, proceeded to take Danbury, Connecticut, and burn it; but the British were in turn attacked by provincials under Wooster and Arnold, and lost two hundred men. The veteran Wooster, of America, lost his life in this engagement. Co'onel Meigs, of Connecticut, on the night of the 23d of May embarked two thousand men in whale boats, crossed the sound and took Sag Harbor. The British were completely overpowered; only four escaped, ninety were made prisoners and five or six killed. The stores were destroyed by the patriots, who without the loss of a man returned to Guilford. Congress awarded a superb sword to General Meigs.

At this time the American forces were concentrated on the Hudson and a camp commanded by Arnold on the Delaware. Late in May Washington broke up his winter quarters and took a commanding position ten miles from the British camp. Howe crossed over from New York and threatened to attack the American lines. For a month the two armies kept up a series of skirmishes and counter marches. Then the British retired first to Amboy, and on June 30th to Staten island.

General Prescott, of the British army, was captured at a farm house near Newport by Colonel William Barton with forty volunteers, and now the provincials were willing to exchange Prescott for Lee, who had been taken prisoner by the British and held because there was no one of equal rank offered in exchange. Colonel Barton was rewarded for this exploit with an elegant sword presented by congress, who had again returned to Philadelphia.

The people of France had always shown themselves friendly to America, and now their sympathy became outspoken. The French ministers would not openly provoke a war with Great Britain, but they were always glad to hear of an English defeat. The Americans somehow became aware that if money was needed France was willing to loan it; if arms were needed France had them to sell; and during the year 1777 twenty thousand muskets and a thousand barrels of powder came from France to America. A little later the republicans of France came over to see for themselves the struggle for liberty. One of the first was the noble young Marquis of La Fayette. He fitted out a vessel at his own expense; he managed to elude the officers and with De Kalb and a handful of followers reached South Carolina in April of 1777. He entered the army as a volunteer and in the following July became a major-general.

The campaign of General Burgoyne was an important one. He superseded Sir Guy Carleton in command of the British forces in Canada. He spent the spring in organizing a force of ten thousand men, intending to take the state of New York. The force



was a mixed one composed of British soldiers, Canadians, Indians and Hessians. The plan was to make a sudden descent on Albany and New York, and to cut off New England, the middle and southern colonies. Burgoyne and his mixed army on the 1st of June reached lake Champlain, and on the 16th Crown Point. This place was already occupied by the British, so he marched to Ticonderoga, occupied by General St. Clair with three thousand men. The garrison got out and marched to Hubbardton, Vermont, and the British captured Ticonderoga, but followed the fleeing Americans so fast that an engagement was held at Hubbardton, which checked the rapid pursuit. The next day the British captured a quantity of stores. General Schuyler was now in command of the northern American army. He had between four and five thousand men at Fort Edward. Burgoyne captured this fort on the 30th of July, the garrison retreating down the Hudson. The British commander now despatched Colonels Baum and Breymann with a strong detachment to seize colonial stores at Bennington, Vermont. Colonel John Stark rallied the New Hampshire militia, and on the 15th of August met the British near the town. The battle was a terrific one. Baum's forces were completely routed. The British loss was eight hundred killed, wounded and prisoners, and the colonists were once more overjoyed. And shortly another victory made them jubilant. A large force of Canadians and Indians under command of General St. Leger had been detailed to storm Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk. On the 3rd of August St. Leger held the fort, but General Herkimer rallied the

militia, but was defeated with a loss of a hundred and sixty men. Meantime General Arnold was at the head of a detachment for the relief of the fort. When he approached the savages fled and St. Leger, amazed at their treachery, raised the siege and retreated. Burgoyne was at Fort Edward when this discouraging news was brought him. It took a whole month to get British supplies from Canada, and he found himself surrounded by nine thousand patriot soldiers. General Lincoln arrived with the militia of New England, and Washington sent several detachments from the regular army. Morgan came with his riflemen. Schuyler was superseded by Gates in the northern army. The American headquarters were advanced to Stillwater. Burgoyne crossed the Hudson on the 14th and took a post at Saratoga. The two armies now faced each other. On the 19th a general battle, continuing until nightfall, occurred. The conflict was severe, but gave neither party the victory. Burgoyne's position was now critical. His supplies were nearly gone. The Canadians and Indians deserted him. General Clinton, who commanded the British army in New York, had sailed up the Hudson and captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery, but nothing more. Burgoyne had now become desperate. On the 7th of October he gave battle to the Americans and lost his best officers and nearly seven hundred privates. General Frazer, noted for his bravery, commanded the British right, was killed, and his disheartened men turned and fled. On the American side Arnold was inspiring his men and the American army was completely victorious. Burgoyne began his

retreat on the 9th of October. He reached Saratoga, where he was intercepted by Gates and Lincoln and driven to surrender. The terms of capitulation were agreed to on the 17th of October, and five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one—the whole English army—became prisoners, and among them were six members of parliament. The military stores of the Americans were enriched by forty-two pieces of brass artillery, five thousand muskets and an immense quantity of stores.

As soon as this affair was over a large part of the army was sent to Washington, for a great campaign had been going on in the south, and the patriots had been in sore straits. Howe had sailed on the 23rd of July from New York with eighteen thousand men to attack Philadelphia; but hearing that Americans had obstructed the Delaware he changed his plan, entered the Chesapeake and made the journey by land. Washington advanced his headquarters from Philadelphia to Wilmington. The American army, numbering between eleven and twelve thousand men, were concentrated at that point. The forces of Howe were very large, but Washington hoped to keep them back from the capital. It was the 25th of August when the British landed at Elk river, Maryland, and began their march to Philadelphia. Washington selected the Brandywine as his post of defence. The left wing was stationed at Chadsford, while the right wing, under General Sullivan, was extended up the river. The 11th of September the British reached the opposite bank and began battle. The Hessians, commanded by Knyphausen, attacked at the ford;

the British, led by Cornwallis and Howe, marched up the Brandywine and crossed above the American right. Sullivan allowed himself to be out-flanked. Washington was deceived by false representations. The right wing was crushed by Cornwallis and the day was lost. By morning the remnant of the American forces was at Westchester. The American loss was one thousand men; the British loss five hundred and eighty-four. La Fayette was severely wounded. Count Pulaski distinguished himself so that congress honored him with the rank of brigadier. Washington continued his retreat as far as Germantown, and on the 15th of the month he recrossed the Schuylkill, and met Howe at Warren's Tavern. There was a spirited skirmish and a great battle seemed near. But a tremendous tempest swept over the field. The soldiers were deluged, their cartridges useless, and fighting was impossible. Washington still attempted to keep between the British and the city, but Howe succeeded in crossing the river and on September 26th the city was taken. Congress adjourned to Lancaster and again to York, where sessions were held until summer. Washington now made his camp on Skip-pack creek, twenty miles from the city. He attempted to surprise the British on the night of October 3rd, but the roads were rough and the different columns reached the British outposts at irregular intervals. The fighting was severe, and there was a time when the British seemed likely to be overpowered; but they gained possession of a large store house and could not be driven out. The patriots were forced to give it up. Their loss was a thousand killed,

wounded and missing. The British lost five hundred and thirty-five.

The morning of October 22nd an assault was made on Fort Mercer, on the Delaware, by twelve hundred Hessians, led by Count Donop, who, with nearly four hundred of his men, went down before the American entrenchments. While this battle was in progress the British fleet attacked Fort Mifflin on Mud island. A siege ensued lasting until the 15th of November. Then the garrison escaped at midnight to Fort Mercer and the fortress was fired, and on the 20th of November Fort Mercer was abandoned to the English, and this was the way General Howe obtained control of the Delaware.

Washington made Whitemarsh his headquarters after the battle of Germantown. Food and clothing were very scarce. General Howe called a council of war in a house belonging to Lydia Darrah, in Philadelphia. It was decided to surprise Washington in his camp. Lydia Darrah overheard the plans and, being a patriotic woman, she made pretence of going to mill. Taking her sacks with her, she rode to the American lines and told the story, so that on the morning of the 4th, as the British approached Whitemarsh, they found mounted cannons and the patriots in 'attle array." For four days the British general manœuvred and then marched back to Philadelphia.

It was the 11th of December when the American army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the right bank of the Schuylkill.

This was a severe winter and the men suffered for want of clothing and shoes. Many a time blood

marked their footsteps. It was a long winter, and congress in a measure abandoned him, as did many men in high civil and military places. But the *army* stood by him through all privations, and the confidence of the nation increased.

To go back to our relations with other countries. Silas Deane of Connecticut was appointed minister to France in November, 1776. His very first service to his country was to make a secret arrangement for supplies to carry on the war, and a year later a ship laden with two hundred thousand dollars worth of arms and ammunition and the much needed specie came over. With the ship came Baron Steuben, commissioned by congress as inspector-general of the army. Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee were also appointed by congress to negotiate a treaty with the French king. They reached Paris in December, 1776, and at once took up their duties. For a long time their attempts were not successful. King Louis and his ministers hated Great Britain and gave secret encouragement to America, but an open treaty with America was the same thing as proclaiming war with England, and that the French court abhorred. The brilliant genius of Franklin now shone with a lustre unknown before because of want of opportunity. "At the gay court of Louis XVI he stood as the representative of his country. His wit and genial humor made him admired; his talents and courtesy commanded respect; his patience and perseverance gave him final success. During the whole of 1777 he remained at Paris and Versailles. At last came the news of Burgoyne's surrender."

Without aid from abroad a strong British army had been subdued by men unused to military discipline, and many times without proper arms or suitable food and clothing. This wonderful success of the Americans induced the king to accept the proposed alliance with the colonies. On February 6th, 1778, a treaty was concluded. "France acknowledged the independence of the United States, and entered into relations of friendship with the new nation."

Benjamin Franklin was born on the 17th of January, 1706. When twelve years of age he was apprenticed to his brother to learn the art of printing. In 1723 he went into a printing office in Philadelphia and quickly became distinguished. He went to England, and when he returned founded the first circulating library in America. He also edited "Poor Richard's Almanac," and discovered that lightning and electricity were one and the same. His wisdom and charming manners did much to gain the treaty in France.

Congress ratified the treaty with France in May, 1778, but a month before this Count d'Estaing had been sent to America with a French fleet. Immediately preparations for war were made by both Great Britain and France. George III was now anxious to treat with the Americans. Lord North brought forward two American bills in which everything claimed by the colonists was conceded. The bills passed parliament, and the king was pleased to give his assent, and commissioners were sent immediately to the colonies. But congress, feeling that nothing short of perfect independence in the United States could be accepted, informed the commissioners so.

Until June of 1778 the British army remained at Philadelphia. Then the rumor of D'Estaing's approaching fleet reached their ears, and at once the English admiral set sail for New York, and on the 18th Philadelphia was evacuated and the British army retreated across New Jersey. Washington at once occupied the capital and followed the British retreat. He overtook them at Monmouth. General Lee was ordered to attack them the morning of the 28th. The American cavalry under La Fayette was driven back by Cornwallis. Lee gave orders for his command to retire to a stronger position, but the order was misunderstood and the retreat commenced. Washington met the flying army and rebuked Lee severely. At nightfall they were compelled to desist, and under cover of the darkness Clinton and his forces escaped. The American loss was two hundred and twenty-seven. The British dead on the field numbered nearly three hundred. The day after the battle Lee sent to Washington an insulting letter demanding an apology. Washington replied that his language was justified by the circumstances. Lee answered in a still more offensive manner, and was thereupon arrested and tried by court martial and dismissed from his command for twelve months. He never re-entered the service and did not live to witness the independence of his country.

Washington took up his quarters at White Plains, as the British forces were at New York. It was the 11th of July when Count d'Estaing's fleet made the first attempt to attack the British squadron in the bay; but the bar at the entrance prevented the



passage of the French ships. D'Estaing sailed for Rhode Island, and General Sullivan went to Providence to act with him in a charge on Newport. Sullivan secured a favorable position on the island, and a joint attack by land and sea was planned for the 10th of August, and when the day dawned General Howe's fleet came in sight and D'Estaing sailed out to meet him. But just as the engagement was about to begin a tremendous storm arose, which parted the fleets and greatly damaged them. D'Estaing repaired to Boston and Howe put back to New York. Sullivan laid siege to Newport, but found it policy to retreat, pursued by the British. A battle was fought, in which the British were repulsed with a loss of two hundred and sixty men. Sullivan succeeded in escaping from the island the following evening and General Clinton returned to New York.

Admiral Byron now took command of the British forces. The American ships in Little Egg Harbor were burned, Colonel Ferguson of Great Britain leading the incendiaries.

A little before this Major John Butler of the British army, commanding six hundred loyalists (Canadians and Indians), marched down Wyoming valley. The settlement was entirely defenceless. A few old men and boys too young to belong to the militia rallied to protect their homes. The handful of patriots were routed, and fled to the fort, which was already crowded with women and children. Butler promised honorable terms. On July 5th the gates were opened and the captives murdered as soon as the invaders were safely inside. Nearly all the prisoners fell under

the hatchet and scalping knife of the murderous Indians.

At Cherry valley in New York state there was a similar massacre, the invaders led by Joseph Brandt and Walter Butler, the son of the British general. The people of Cherry valley were driven from their homes and tomahawked or scalped. Forty were taken in captivity. Major Clarke took command of the force which was to teach *them* something of the terrors of war. After great loss to the Indians they were forced to capitulate.

Count d'Estaing's fleet sailed for the West Indies on the 3d of November, and in December following Admiral Byron sailed, hoping on the high seas to overtake the goddess of fortune.

Two thousand men commanded by Colonel Campbell were sent by General Clinton to conquer Georgia. On the 29th of December the expedition reached Savannah. The place was defended by General Robert Howe with eight hundred men. A battle ensued and the Americans were driven out of the city. The patriots went into South Carolina and found refuge at Charleston.

The winter of 1778-79 found the American army in winter quarters at Middlebrook. The soldiers had been neither paid nor fed properly, but Washington's influence prevented a mutiny. Governor Tryon (a royalist) marched with fifteen hundred regulators and tories to destroy the salt works at Horse Neck, Connecticut. General Putnam rallied the militia and made a gallant defence. At length the British outflanked the Americans, who were forced to fly, and

General Putnam, in eminent danger of capture, rode his horse down a precipice and escaped. Clinton with a force went up the Hudson to Stony Point in late May. The garrison saw it was useless to resist him and escaped from the fort. Verplanck's Point was bombarded by the British on the 1st of June and forced to surrender. Tryon with twenty-six hundred Hessians and Tories captured New Haven in July. East Haven and Fairfield they burned, and the story is told that during the burning of Norwalk Tryon sat in a rocking chair and laughed heartily at the distress he was causing, even as Nero laughed at the destruction he created. General Wayne came upon Stony Point on the 15th of July. He halted near the fort and gave his orders. The British pickets were caught and gagged, and as silent as the night muskets were unloaded and bayonets fixed. Not a gun was fired. The assault came a little after midnight. Not a patriot flinched from his duty. The ramparts were scaled, and the British awoke to find themselves between two lines of bayonets. They cried for quarter. Sixty-three fell; five hundred and forty-three were made prisoners. The American loss was fifteen killed, eighty-three wounded. General Wayne secured the ordinance and stores and burned the fort.

It was only three days after this when Major Lee captured the British garrison at Jersey City, and a fleet was sent against a British post at the mouth of the Penobscot on the 25th of July. On the 13th of August, while the American vessels were besieging this post, the British squadron sailed in upon them and destroyed

them. During the summer Generals Sullivan and James Clinton were sent against the Indians on the Susquehanna. The savages and tories had fortified themselves at Elmira, but the 29th saw them forced out and routed. The country between the Susquehanna and the Genesee was utterly devastated and every Indian village destroyed.

Fort Sunbury on St. Catherine's sound was captured by General Prevost of his majesty's command January 9th, 1779, and the general then assumed command of the British forces in the south. Two thousand regulars and loyalists were despatched against Augusta on the 29th. The British took Augusta the same day. Meanwhile the tories, who were advancing to join the British at Augusta, were whipped by Captain Anderson, and on February 14th they were overtaken and routed by Colonel Pickens. Colonel Boyd, the tory leader, was killed and seventy of his men shared his fate. Seventy-five were captured and five ring-leaders hanged, and the western half of Georgia was again in the possession of patriots. On February 25th the Americans, commanded by General Ashe (numbering two thousand), crossed the Savannah and pursued Campbell as far as Brier creek. The patriots halted here and the British General Prevost marched from Savannah and surrounded Ashe's command. The battle was fought on the 3rd of March. The Americans were routed and driven into the swamp, and now Georgia was again under royal government. But again within a month Lincoln was in the field with five thousand men. He marched up the left bank of the river in the direction of Augusta. But General

Prevost crossed the Savannah and marched against Charleston. General Lincoln turned back to attack him, and Prevost made a hasty retreat. The Americans overtook them at Stone Ferry, ten miles west of Charleston, but were repulsed with loss. Prevost then fell back to Savannah and all remained quiet during the winter.

Count d'Estaing now arrived with his fleet from the West Indies to co-operate with Lincoln in reducing Savannah. Prevost meantime concentrated his forces for the defence of the city. "The French effected a landing on the 12th and advanced to the siege." It was eleven days before Lincoln arrived with his forces. D'Estaing demanded a surrender on the 16th, but Prevost sent a defiant reply. The siege was a hard one and the town constantly bombarded. Still the defence remained unshaken. At length D'Estaing told Lincoln that the city must be *carried by storm*. The morning of October 9th was the one settled upon for assault. Before the sun had risen the allies were within the redoubts of the British. The attack was furious. It seemed at one time that the works must be carried. The flags of Carolina and of France were planted on the parapet, but were soon hurled down. Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, was killed. The allied forces were driven back with terrible loss. Count Pulaski was struck with a grape shot, and borne dying from the field. D'Estaing retired on board his fleet and Lincoln retreated to Charleston.

Paul Jones was cruising off the coast of Scotland with a fleet of French and American vessels. On the

23rd of September he fell in with a British squadron, and there was a bloody battle. The *Serapis*, a British frigate of forty-four guns, engaged *The Poor Richard* within musket shot. At last the vessels were lashed together, and the *Serapis* struck her colors. Jones had his men at once board the *Serapis*, and the *Poor Richard* went down. Of the three hundred and seventy-five men who had been under Jones on the *Poor Richard* three hundred were either killed or wounded. This was the last engagement of 1779.

During the early part of 1780 there was little going on in military circles. Admiral de Ternay arrived at Newport with a French squadron and six thousand land troops under Count Rochambeau early in July, and their plans for future campaigns were determined. In the south the patriots suffered severely, and all America was rejoiced that the French had come to their relief. South Carolina had been completely overrun by the enemy. On the 11th of February Admiral Arbuthnot anchored before Charleston. Five thousand men under command of Sir Henry Clinton were on board the fleet. In the city were fourteen hundred men under General Lincoln. The British landed and advanced up the right bank of the Ashley river. On the 7th of April Lincoln was reinforced by seven hundred Virginians. Two days later Arbuthnot succeeded in passing Fort Moultrie and came within cannon shot of the city. A siege was begun and vigorously kept up. Lincoln sent out General Huger to scour the country north of Cooper river. Warned of this movement, Tarleton with the British cavalry stole upon Huger's forces at Monk's

Corner and dispersed the whole company. The city was now surrounded. From the beginning the defence was without hope. The fortifications were battered down, and Lincoln, dreading an assault, was forced to capitulate. Charleston surrendered on the 12th of May and the garrison became prisoners of war. Only a few days before the surrender Tarleton surprised a company of militia on the Santee, and a little later three expeditions were sent out into different parts of the state. The American post at Ninety Six was seized. Another detachment went prowling about the region of Savannah, and Cornwallis crossed the Santee and took Georgetown. Tarleton with seven hundred cavalry overtook the Americans under Colonel Buford on the Waxhaw, and charged and scattered the whole command.

Great Britain's authority was now supreme over all South Carolina. Clinton and Arbuthnot returned to New York and Cornwallis was left to hold the conquered country. The condition of affairs was desperate. Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion appeared as protectors for the state. They rallied the militia and began a partisan warfare that was effective. Detachments of the British melted like snow under April skies. At Rocky Mount Colonel Sumter burst upon a party of dragoons who barely escaped, and on the 6th of August he attacked another detachment at Hanging Rock, defeated them and retreated. In this battle Andrew Jackson, then thirteen years of age, fought his first battle for freedom.

The company under Marion was composed of twenty boys and men, white and black, poorly dressed

and poorly armed. The number increased as they marched along, and soon the "Ragged Regiment" was ridding the country of the enemy. They were unseen, and yet everywhere. Frequently at midnight they sallied from some horrid swamp upon the sleeping Britons, leaving scarce one to tell the horrid tale. The position of Cornwallis was swept around continually, his lines of communication were cut, and the onsets were incessant. This mode of warfare was very provoking to the English; more than that, it was seriously hurting them.

General Gates now came into the Carolinas. Lord Rawdon brought his forces to Camden and a little later Cornwallis brought reinforcements. The Americans were posted at Clermont. Singularly enough, both Gates and Cornwallis formed the idea of surprising the other in the night. On the evening of August 5th they both set out and met midway at Sander's creek. There was a severe battle and the Americans were badly defeated. The loss was nearly a thousand men. Baron De Kalb was fatally wounded. The reputation of Gates as a commanding officer vanished like smoke in a blizzard and General Greene superseded him. But a few days later Sumter's corps was overtaken by Tarleton at Fishing creek and he was completely routed.

There was only Marion now to harass the enemy. The British advanced into North Carolina the 8th of September and on the 25th they reached Charlotte. Colonel Ferguson with eleven hundred regulars and Tories went into the country west of the Catawba to encourage the loyalists. He and his men had en-



campea on King's mountain October 7th, when suddenly, as if they had risen from under their very feet, they were attacked by Colonel Campbell with a thousand riflemen. The battle was a desperate one. Ferguson was slain, and three hundred of his men killed or wounded. Eight hundred threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Ten of the leading tory prisoners were court martialed and condemned to be hanged.

To add to other troubles was added one of great weight—the absence of money. Continental notes, which at issue were received at par, by 1780 were scarcely worth two cents on the dollar. Business was paralyzed for want of money. Robert Morris and a few other wealthy men came forward with their private fortunes and saved the country. The mothers of the land did all that in their power lay, and soon the soldiers were comfortably clothed and fed.

And now came the news that shocked the country. Benedict Arnold was a *traitor*. Like many men in the nineteenth century, he had lived so far beyond his means that he began a deliberate system of frauds on the commissary department. He was commander of Philadelphia at the time. For this he was tried and convicted by court martial, and yet after this he asked for and obtained command of West Point. He assumed control of the arsenal and depot of that place. He then entered into a secret conference with Sir Henry Clinton, and offered to sell his country for what he could get. And the agreement went still further. The British fleet was to sail up the Hudson and the garrison and fort would be given to them. The man selected to hold a conference with Benedict

Arnold was Major John Andre, a young man of great promise and attractiveness and adjutant-general of the British army. He went in full uniform and the meeting was held outside the American lines. It was a little after midnight when he went on shore from the *Vulture*, and met Arnold in a thicket. Daybreak came, and Andre went inside disguised as a spy. The next day saw the completion of the business. Arnold was to surrender West Point for ten thousand pounds and a commission as brigadier in the British army. Andre received papers containing a description of West Point, its defences and the best method of attack. But that day an American battery drove the *Vulture* down the river, and Andre was obliged to cross to the other side and return by land. He passed the American outposts in safety, but at Tarrytown three militiamen, John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac van Wart, stopped him. They stripped him and found his papers, and delivered him to Colonel Jameson at North Castle. Arnold on hearing the news escaped on board the *Vulture*. Andre was tried by court martial and under the code was obliged to be hung. Though this execution was unavoidable, the people of America have always regretted the act. Benedict Arnold never stepped his foot on American ground again, and from this time he was a man *desolate*, without friends or country.

January of 1781 was a dark month. The army was dejected. They had not received clothing or pay and were half starved. The entire Pennsylvania line mutinied on this day and marched on to Philadelphia. At Princeton they were met by emissaries sent out

by Sir Henry Clinton, who tempted them with offers of clothing and money if they would come under the British standard. But the ragged, starving men by way of answer seized the British agents and delivered them to General Wayne to be hanged. The commissioners of congress offered the insurgents a liberal reward, but it was refused and after some liberal concessions the mutiny was quelled. Two weeks later there was a revolt in the New Jersey brigade. Washington quelled this by force.

General Howe marched to the camp with five hundred regulars and compelled the mutineers to execute their own leaders. Peace and good order was restored. Congress now became thoroughly frightened and sent to France for a loan of money. Robert Morris was made secretary of finance and the Bank of North America was organized to aid the government.

Benedict Arnold received his commission from the British commandant at New York. He was brigadier in the British army. In November Washington and Major Lee had attempted to capture him in this way. Sergeant John Champe undertook the work. He deserted to the enemy, entered New York, joined Arnold's company, and concocted measures to abduct him from the city. But Arnold moved his quarters, and the plan was defeated. A month afterward he was given command of sixteen men, and on the 16th of December left New York for Virginia, and in January the traitor began war on his countrymen. He seemed to find great pleasure in devastating and destroying property and laid waste many of the beautiful places about Richmond. He then took up

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quarters at Portsmouth, and Washington again planned his capture. The French fleet was ordered to co-operate with La Fayette in the attempt. But Admiral Arbuthnot drove the French squadron back to Rhode Island. La Fayette abandoned the undertaking and Arnold escaped.

In April General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth and assumed command of the army. In May he died and for seven days Arnold was supreme commander of the British forces in Virginia. On the 20th Lord Cornwallis arrived and ordered him to "begone." He returned to New York, and made an expedition against New London. Fort Griswold, which was commanded by Colonel Ledyard, was carried by storm, and when Ledyard surrendered seventy-three of the garrison were murdered in cold blood. Such was the ferocity of Arnold.

The American army at Charlotte, North Carolina, was now under command of General Greene. General Morgan had been sent early in January into the Spartanburg district of South Carolina to repress the tories. Colonel Tarleton followed with his cavalry. The Americans stationed themselves at Cowpens, where on January 17th they were attacked by the British. Tarleton came at them most impetuously, but Morgan held his ground. The American cavalry under Colonel William Washington made a charge and scattered the British dragoons like dandelion seeds. Ten British officers and ninety men never more answered to roll call. When Lord Cornwallis heard of the battle he started out to settle the saucy Morgan, but Greene hastened to the camp and took

command in person. The Americans reached the Catawba and crossed to the northern bank. Within two hours the British arrived, and lo, from the heavens there came a great rain, so that the ford was impassable for days. Then there was a race for the Yadkin. It was sixty miles away. The Americans reached the river in two days. The British came in sight while they were crossing, but again the heavens opened and the flood came down, and Cornwallis was again delayed. The lines of retreat and pursuit came pretty near being parallel. There was a third race and the Americans won it. On the 13th Greene with the main division crossed the Dan into Virginia, and on February 22nd General Greene returned into North Carolina.

Meantime Cornwallis felt that the tories needed encouragement, and so he sent Tarleton into the region between the Haw and Deep rivers to encourage the tories. Three hundred loyalists were already under arms in that region. While marching to join Tarleton they were met and dispersed by Colonel Lee. And now Greene's army consisted of more than four thousand men, and he felt ready for battle, so he marched to Guilford Court House, and Cornwallis moved forward to the attack. The first encounter was on March 15th, but was not decisive. The Americans were driven back several miles, but the British loss was much heavier. Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington and from there to Virginia. Lord Rawdon commanded the British forces in the Carolinas. The Americans advanced and took Fort Watson on the Santee, and Greene took a position at

Hobkirk's Hill near Camden. Rawdon moved on the American camp on April 25th. A severe battle ensued, and the British seemed almost routed once, but at last the American center was broken and the battle lost. Rawdon retired to Eutaw Springs and the British posts at Orangeburg and Augusta fell into the hands of the Americans. Ninety Six was besieged by General Greene. The water was cut off from the fort, and the garrison reduced to the point of surrendering when Rawdon approached and Greene withdrew.

The sickly months were coming on and Greene withdrew his command for sanitary reasons to the mountainous district. Lord Rawdon went to Charleston and became chief actor in one of the most disgraceful scenes of the revolution. Colonel Isaac Hayne, a patriot who had once taken the oath of allegiance to the king, was caught commanding a troop of cavalry (American). He was brought before Colonel Balfour, commandant at Charleston, condemned and ordered to be hanged. Rawdon gave his sanction, and Colonel Hayne was executed.

But during all this time Sumter, Lee and Marion were harassing the enemy at every point. General Greene marched to Orangeburg August 22nd. The British forces were at Eutaw Springs. The Americans overtook them there on September 8th and one of the fiercest battles of the war was fought. General Greene would have had a decisive victory but for the bad conduct of some of his troops. After losing five hundred and fifty-five men he gave up the struggle. The British loss was nearly seven hundred.

Stuart retreated to Monk's Corner; Greene followed; and it took two months of manœuvring to drive them into Charleston again. All the south except Charleston and Savannah were under the government of the United States. Savannah was evacuated on the 11th of July, Charleston on the 14th of December, 1782.

It was early in May, 1781, that Cornwallis took command of the British army in Virginia. The value of property destroyed was not less than fifteen millions. They were quite equal to the Goths and Vandals. La Fayette, who commanded Virginia under Washington, was unable to meet Cornwallis in the field. While the British were near Richmond Tarleton proceeded to Charlottesville, where the legislators were in session, and captured seven of them. Governor Jefferson escaped to the mountains. General Wayne, who led La Fayette's advance, on the 6th of July suddenly attacked the whole British army at Green Springs on the James. Cornwallis was surprised and Wayne, observing his mistake, got his forces away before Cornwallis could recover. The loss of the two armies was equal, a hundred and twenty on each side.

The British went to Portsmouth and a little later to Yorktown on the southern bank of the York river. La Fayette followed, and his post was only eight miles from the British. During July and August Washington, encamped on the Hudson, greatly desired to go south. General Clinton was kept in a state of unrest by intercepting false despatches, which indicated that the Americans would soon besiege New York, and when Clinton was told that Wash-

ington was on his way south he had the best of reasons for not believing it. Washington marched rapidly and joined La Fayette at Williamsburg. August 30th a French fleet with four thousand troops on board sailed into the Chesapeake and anchored in the mouth of the York river. And now Cornwallis was blockaded by land and sea ; and Count de Barras, with his fleet of French vessels at Newport, also arrived on the 5th of September, and now too came Admiral Graves. A naval battle ensued and the British ships were no longer masters of the high seas. On the 29th the allied armies camped about Yorktown, and on the 6th of October the trenches were opened at six hundred yards from the British works. On the 11th the allies drew their second parallel within three hundred yards of the British redoubts. The night of the 14th the British outer works were carried by storm. On the 16th the British made a sortie, but were driven back, and on the very next day Cornwallis proposed a surrender, and on the 18th terms of capitulation were signed, and on the 19th the entire British army (seven thousand two hundred and forty-seven), English and Hessians, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves. The news reached congress on the 23rd. Remember, there were neither steam cars, telegraphs or telephones in those days. And on the morrow the assembly went with the citizens to the Dutch Lutheran church and had a devout thanksgiving, and the notes of rejoicing were echoed and re-echoed all over the land. In England the king and his ministers heard the news with rage, but *the people* of England smiled when there was **no**



one to see them. Many of them sympathized with America.

The 20th of March, 1782, Lord North and his friends sent in their resignations. A new ministry favorable to peace was formed. The command of the British forces in America was given to Sir Guy Carleton, who was favorable to American interests. Richard Oswald was sent over in the summer of 1782 to make terms of peace with Franklin and Jay ; John Adams and Henry Laurens also were called to assist in the negotiations. The 30th of November the preliminary articles of peace were signed and in April following congress ratified the terms, and on the 3rd of November following a final treaty was signed between all the nations that had been at war.

The terms of treaty of 1783 were a complete recognition of the independence of the United States ; the cession by Great Britain of Florida to Spain ; a surrender of the remaining territory east of the Mississippi to the United States ; the free navigation of the Mississippi and the lakes and the retention of Canada and Nova Scotia by the British.

Sir Guy Carleton received instructions to evacuate New York early in August and the 25th of November the British army embarked and were soon lost to human vision. Washington called together his officers on the 4th of December and said farewell. With tears and sobs they parted from him who had led them on to victory through a war of eight years. He departed at once for Annapolis, where congress was in session, and the whole route was a triumphal procession. After he reached Philadelphia, he made a report to congress

of the entire expenses of the war—seventy-four thousand four hundred and eighty-five dollars—every penny duly accounted for. On the 23rd of December, Washington was introduced to congress and delivered an address incomparable for wisdom and modesty. With great dignity he surrendered his commission as commander-in-chief of the army. General Mifflin, the president of congress, responded eloquently, and the father of his country retired to Mount Vernon.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE UNION OF THE STATES.

**W**HILE the revolution was in progress the civil government was in a pitiable condition. It was only the peril of the country that called congress, and when that body met it was without a constitution or efficient power of action. "There were two great wants. The first was money, the second was a central authority to direct the war." Benjamin Franklin was one of the first who worked for a better government. He laid before congress the better plan in 1775. It was for a perpetual confederation of the states. But no attention could be paid to it then, the war demanding all attention. Congress without any real authority conducted the government as best it could, and this government was generally accepted by the states.

In June, 1776 (11th day), congress appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the confederation of the states. The committee labored a month and then the plan was laid before the house. This was about the middle of July, 1776, and the plan was debated a great many times before its adoption in November, 1777, when it was put to vote and adopted. After this the articles were to be transmitted to the state legislatures for ratification. The frame of government was greatly amended before its return. The amendments having been considered, the articles were signed by the

delegates from eight states July 9th, 1778, and eight months later five more states had come into the confederation, and in March, 1781, Maryland too signed the articles.

This confederation was not ideally perfect. The executive and legislative powers were vested in congress, a body to be composed of not less than two or more than seven representatives from each state. The sovereignty was reserved to the states. There was no mention of chief magistrate and no general judiciary provided for. The consent of nine states was necessary to complete an act of legislation. The union was declared to be perpetual.

Congress assembled for the first time under the new constitution on March 2d, 1781. The inadequacy of the government was felt from the first, for congress had no real authority. The first duty was to make provision for the payment of thirty-eight million dollars which had been borrowed to meet expenses of the war. Congress thought a general tax would be the best way to meet the indebtedness. Some of the states made a levy for that purpose, while others refused, and Robert Morris, the richest man in America, who willingly loaned his all, came to poverty. The condition of affairs was disheartening. Washington advised the calling of a convention to meet at Annapolis. The proposition was kindly received and September, 1786, found representatives of five states present. The question of a tariff was discussed and some time consumed in the revision of the articles of confederation. But it was adjourned until the following year.

Congress asked the legislatures to appoint delegates to this convention. All of the states save Rhode Island sent delegates, and on the second Monday in May, 1787, the representatives assembled at Philadelphia. Washington was elected president of the convention. Edmund Randolph introduced a resolution to adopt a new constitution. This was on May 29th. A committee was at once appointed to revise the articles of confederation. The report of the committee was adopted and that report was *the constitution of the United States*. The people were not in unison when the question came up of adopting it. Those who were in favor of adopting it were called federalists and those who opposed anti-federalists. The leaders of the federalists were Washington, Jay, Madison and Hamilton, who bent all his energies in favoring the adoption of the new constitution. In those papers which upheld the federal cause Hamilton and Madison answered every objection of the anti-federal party. To Hamilton we as a nation owe more than to any one else for "having established on a firm basis the true principles of free government."

Under the constitution of the United States the powers of government were under three heads: legislative, executive and judicial. The legislative power is vested in congress, which is composed of a senate and house of representatives. The senators are chosen for a term of six years by the legislatures of the several states. Each state is represented by two senators. The representatives are elected by the people, and each state is entitled to a number of representatives in proportion to its population. These

members are chosen for two years. The executive power is vested in a president, chosen for four years by the electoral college. The electors composing the college are chosen by the people, and each state is entitled to as many electors as there are representatives and senators from that state.

The president's duty is to enforce the laws of congress in accordance with the constitution. He is also commander-in-chief of the armies and navies. In case of the death or resignation of the president the vice-president becomes chief magistrate.

The judicial power of the United States is vested in a supreme court and in inferior courts established by congress. The highest judicial officer is the chief justice. The judges hold their offices through life on good behavior.

The right of trial by jury is granted in all cases except impeachment of public officers. Treason against the United States consists in levying war against them or in giving aid to their enemies. The constitution also provides that new territories may be organized and new states admitted into the union; that to every state shall be guaranteed a republican government; and that the constitution may be altered or amended by the consent of two-thirds of both houses of congress and three-fourths of the legislatures of the states. In accordance with this provision fifteen amendments have been made since.

Eleven states had adopted the constitution before the end of 1788. The new government was to go into operation when nine states should ratify. North Carolina and Rhode Island believed in great delibera-







tion and so took plenty of time. According to an act of congress, the first Wednesday of January, 1789, was named as the day of election of chief magistrate. The people chose Washington. Early in April the ballots were counted and George Washington was unanimously chosen president and John Adams vice-president of the United States. The notification of his election reached him the 14th of the month and at once he set out for New York, and he met with a constant ovation everywhere through his route.

On the 30th of April Washington was inaugurated first president of the United States. The ceremony was performed on the balcony of the old city hall where the Wall street custom house now stands. Chancellor Livingston of New York administered the oath of office. The streets and house tops were crowded with people. Flags were hung from every house. Cannons were fired from the battery. Washington delivered his inaugural address in the senate chamber. Congress had already been organized. There were perplexing difficulties before the first congress. By the treaty with England the free navigation of the Mississippi was guaranteed. Now the Spaniards of New Orleans hindered the passage of American ships, and on the frontier the Indians were at war with the settlers, and America had *no* financial credit. On September 10th an act of congress instituting a department of foreign affairs, a treasury department and a department of war was passed. President Washington nominated Jefferson secretary of foreign affairs, Knox secretary of war and Hamilton secretary of the treasury. A supreme court was organized.

John Jay was the first chief justice. Edmund Randolph was chosen attorney-general.

In the meantime Rhode Island and North Carolina had ratified the constitution. The war debt, including the revolutionary expenses of several states, came to nearly eighty millions of dollars. Hamilton's policy was a broad and honest one. He proposed that the debt of the United States to individual states, as well as to American citizens, should be assumed by the government and *all* be paid in full. This measure did much to improve the credit of the country. Hamilton's financial schemes were violently opposed by Jefferson and the anti-federal party. Where should the seat of government be? was a question, and they agreed to establish the capital for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterwards somewhere else on the Potomac.

The next measure was to organize the territory south-west of the Ohio. The Miami Indians had gone to war with the United States in 1790. The tribes went to war to recover lands that they had ceded to the United States. General Harmar was ordered with fourteen hundred men to convince them of the error of taking back what they had once given. General Harmar marched from Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) to the Maumee. The army was badly defeated with heavy losses at the ford of this stream. General Harmar retreated to Fort Washington.

*The bank of the United States* was established by act of congress and Vermont, which had been an independent territory since 1777, came into the union, making it the fourteenth State. The claim of New York to the province had been purchased in 1789 for thirty

thousand dollars. The census for 1790 showed the population to be three million nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand.

General St. Clair with two thousand men after Harmar's defeat started after the Miamis. He was attacked by them in Mercer county. Little Turtle was captain of two thousand braves and a number of renegade whites. After a terrible battle St. Clair was completely defeated, with a loss of half his men. The remnant fled to Fort Washington. It was with great sorrow that the nation heard of this loss. General Wayne superseded St. Clair. This was the Anthony Wayne whom people called for his daring Mad Anthony. There were now nearly seventy-three thousand people in Kentucky. Daniel Boone, a noted hunter of North Carolina, had seventeen years previously settled at Boonesborough. The towns of Lexington and Harrodsburg were founded about the same time. The pioneers had suffered greatly during the revolution. The Indians were constantly attacking one or the other of the settlements. General Clarke came in 1779 and after his expedition emigrants came by scores and then by thousands. Virginia had relinquished her claim to the territory, and in 1792, June 1st, Kentucky came into the union.

The second presidential election was now at hand and Washington and Adams were again re-elected. During his second administration there was much trouble with foreign governments. Citizen Genet, sent out as minister to the United States, arrived at Charleston. All Americans felt kindly to the French government, so Genet was met with enthusiasm, and

taking advantage of his popularity the wretched man fitted out privateers at his own expense to steal on the high seas the vessels laden with British stores, and then planned an expedition against Louisiana, and when Washington refused to enter into an alliance with France the minister threatened to appeal to the people. But Washington, not a whit scared, demanded the minister's recall, and he found it necessary to return. Mr. Fouchet succeeded him.

The whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794 disturbed the country. Three years previously congress had imposed a tax on all ardent spirits distilled in the United States. The French freebooter Genet and his friends had incited the distillers to resist the tax collectors. The whiskey distillers arose in arms. Washington issued two proclamations warning the insurgents to disperse; and rather than obey his orders they fired upon the government officers. Henry Lee with a strong detachment of troops marched to the scene of the disturbance and dispersed them.

General Wayne entered the Indian country in the fall of 1793. His force was three thousand. He built Fort Recovery near the scene of St. Clair's defeat, and Fort Defiance at the junction of the Au Glaize and Maumee. Descending the Maumee, he sent proposals of peace to the enemy, who were holding council only a few miles away. Little Turtle would have made a treaty of peace, but the majority of the Indians were for war. Wayne overtook the savages at the town Waynesfield on the 20th of August, and routed them with great loss, so that the chieftains were obliged to purchase peace by ceding to the

United States all the territory east of a line drawn from Fort Recovery to the mouth of the Kentucky river. General Wayne died in December of 1896, and was buried at Presque Isle.

George III had in 1793 issued instructions to British privateers to seize all neutral vessels found trading in the French West Indies. The United States was not notified of this measure, and American commerce to the value of many millions was taken by English privateers. Chief Justice Jay was sent as envoy to demand redress of the British government and his mission was successful, though it was contrary to expectation. In 1794 an honorable treaty was concluded and it was specified in the treaty that Great Britain should make reparation for the injuries done and surrender to the United States certain western posts which still had been held by the English.

The boundary line between the United States and Louisiana was not settled until 1795. Spain granted to the Americans the free navigation of the Mississippi. Next came a difficulty with the dey of Algiers. Pirates from Algiers had been marauding on the ocean and capturing ships of all nations. The dey had agreed with several nations that his ships should not annoy them if he was paid an annual tribute; and when this had been arranged he turned the pirates loose in American waters, and the government of the United States was also compelled to pay tribute to him.

Tennessee came into the union in 1796. Six years previously North Carolina had surrendered her claims to the territory. There was already a population of

more than seventy thousand. The first inhabitants were from the Carolinas, and were said to have been the hardiest of pioneers.

Washington's second term of office was about ended. He could not be prevailed upon to become a candidate for the third time. He issued his farewell address in September of 1796. It contained great wisdom as well as patriotism. The political parties at once selected candidates. John Adams was the choice of the federal party and Thomas Jefferson of the anti-federal. The chief question between the parties was whether it was the true policy to enter into intimate relations with France. The anti-federalists said *yes*, the federals said *no*. On that issue Mr. Adams was elected, but Mr. Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, was vice-president. This was according to the old provision of the constitution. The person who stood second on the list became the second officer in the government.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT ADAMS was inaugurated on March 4th, 1797. His administration was annoyed by political opposition. The French minister Adet urged the government to conclude a league with France against Great Britain. The president and congress were opposed to the alliance. And then the French directory began to *demand* an alliance, and on the 10th of March that body issued instructions to French men-of-war to assail the commerce of the United States. And Mr. Pinckney, American minister, was ordered home. This was of course equivalent to a declaration of war. The president convened congress in extraordinary session. Elbridge Gerry and John Marshall were directed to join Mr. Pinckney in a final effort for a peaceable adjustment of the difficulties. But the directory refused to receive the ambassadors except upon condition that they would pay into the French treasury a quarter million of dollars. Pinckney replied that *the United States had millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute*. The envoys were then ordered to leave the country.

So an act was passed in 1798 by congress completing the organization of the army. Washington was called from his retirement and appointed commander-in-chief of the army. Hamilton was elected first

major-general. The previous year a navy had been provided for at the session, and a national loan authorized. The treaties with France were declared void, and vigorous preparations made for war. The American frigates put to sea and in the fall of 1799 did good service. Commodore Truxtun in the *Constellation* was particularly distinguished for this. While cruising in the West Indies he came across the French man-of-war *Insurgent*, carrying forty guns and over four hundred seamen. He attacked them and the battle was desperate, but Truxtun won and this was on the 9th of February.

But about this time the directory of France went down and Napoleon Bonaparte created himself first consul. At once he sought peace with the United States, and in March of 1800 three ambassadors were sent to France—Murray, Ellsworth and Davie. Negotiations were at once entered into and in September a treaty of peace was confirmed.

But Washington did not live to see this peace. On the 14th of December he was called to a higher place than that of commander-in-chief of the American army. America mourned for him. Congress went in funeral procession to the German Lutheran church and listened reverently to General Henry Lee's touching and beautiful oration. And throughout the world the memory of the mighty man was honored with appropriate ceremonies. Napoleon himself announced the event to the legions of France in an exquisite tribute.

In 1800 the population was five millions, and the exports seventy-one million dollars.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE ADVANCE OF AGRICULTURE.

THE first movement towards the improvement of farm lands was in 1784 by a society for the promotion of agriculture at Philadelphia. Similar societies were formed in New York in 1791, in Massachusetts in 1792, and in South Carolina. The formation of such societies had only just begun in England. Few understood how these societies were to operate. The membership was small, and so there was very little result at first. Washington felt the good such institution might do and was a deeply interested honorary member of the Philadelphia organization while still president. He was a thoroughly practical farmer on a large scale, and so too were Adams and Jefferson. He carried on a correspondence with Arthur Young and Sir John Sinclair of England, who were enthusiastic farmers, men who saw the immense benefit that might accrue from earnest workers in such a body. These men suggested to him the value of a national agricultural board founded and fostered by the United States government. But Washington felt that the country was not yet ready for it and that smaller societies should precede it. These organizations were slow to form at first. The Kennebec agricultural society was instituted at Augusta, Maine, in 1800. This was the second Massachusetts society, for Maine was as yet under

Massachusetts' jurisdiction, and was not a separate state.

The first agricultural fair was held at Washington, then spoken of as "the city in the woods," in 1804. This was held in October under the auspices of the municipal authorities, and it showed the practical advantage of exhibiting choice products and stock. The next fair was held at Georgetown, D. C., 1809, in May. The society under whose auspices it was conducted was called "The Columbian Agricultural Society for the Promotion of Rural and Domestic Economy." Large premiums were offered for sheep raising. In 1816 the Massachusetts society held a fair at Brighton. Premiums were offered for many things and there was a ploughing match to show the training of the oxen. These fairs brought the people together and there was interchange of thought and ideas. They excited pleasant rivalry; they brought to light those farmers who had the best breeds of sheep and cattle and swine, and then, as now, there was demand for fine and swift horses as well as horses of endurance, for most horses were accustomed to carry two persons. These agricultural societies also collected and printed such information on agricultural subjects as they could get, individual members contributing papers on topics they were conversant with and which would be beneficial to the public. These papers were treasured, too. Well I remember a great chest of *Maine Farmers* and *Augusta Ages* that my father had kept from his boyhood and on leaving Maine he rented a store room for them. He knew it would be direst folly to take such things to the west and in his heart he could not destroy them,

so he rented space for them and gave the neighbors a general invitation to help themselves. For forty years these societies held infrequent meetings, but since 1840 they have grown rapidly. In 1841 quite an effort was made in Washington to organize a national agricultural college with the fund bequeathed for that purpose by Hugh Smithson, but the establishment of the Smithsonian institute made the endowment available for other purposes, and for a time the project was abandoned. But in 1852 a convention of one hundred and fifty-two delegates, representing twelve state organizations, and eleven other states and territories, met and organized a national society, which was the realization of George Washington's idea. In 1867 there were one thousand three hundred and sixty-seven organizations in this country.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### POPULATION.

**F**ROM the statistics of 1701, found in "The Family Encyclopedia," published by Charles A. Goodrich in 1834, I copy the following :

Massachusetts.....	70,000
Connecticut .....	30,000
Rhode Island .....	10,000
New Hampshire.....	10,000
New York .....	30 000
East and West Jersey.....	15,000
Pennsylvania .....	20,000
Maryland .....	25,000
Virginia .....	40,000
North Carolina.....	5,000
South Carolina.....	7,000
<hr/>	
Total.....	262,000

### POPULATION OF COLONIES IN 1749.

New Hampshire .....	30,000
Massachusetts .....	220,000
Rhode Island .....	35,000
Connecticut .....	100,000
New York .....	100,000
East and West Jersey.....	60,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware .....	250,000
Maryland.....	85,000
Virginia! ....	85 000
North Carolina.....	45,000
South Carolina .....	30,000
Georgia .....	6,000

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

**I**N December of 1800, congress assembled in Washington City, for Maryland and Virginia had ceded to the United States the District of Columbia, a tract of land ten miles square lying on both sides of the Potomac. The city was laid out in 1792, and in 1800 the population was between eight and nine thousand.

It was said in those days that the Federal party might have retained control of the government had it not been for unpopular and unwise legislation. "The alien law," by which the president was authorized to send foreigners out of the country, was an unpopular one. The sedition law was even more odious and was denounced as tyrannical. Freedom of speech and of the press was punishable with fines and imprisonment. Partisan excitement ran high. The candidates for president and vice-president were Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney on the Federalist ticket and on the Anti-Federalist Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The election was thrown into the house of representatives and the choice fell on Jefferson and Burr. As has been done ever since, Mr. Jefferson gave chief offices to those of the Anti-Federalist or Democratic party because men of the same belief in politics would work together better. Abolishing the system of internal revenues was one of their first acts

and the laws against the freedom of the press and aliens were very soon repealed.

Indiana and Ohio were organized in this way: In 1800 a line was drawn through the north-west territory from the mouth of the Great Miami river through Fort Recovery to Canada. Two years later the territory east of that line became Ohio and west of it Indiana territory, with Vincennes for its capital, and General William Henry Harrison for its governor. Mississippi was the territory next organized. The purchase of Louisiana was of still greater importance. In 1800 Napoleon had compelled Spain to cede the state to France, and he prepared an army to go to New Orleans to establish his authority. But the United States remonstrated against such a proceeding and Napoleon authorized his minister to sell Louisiana. It was on the 30th of April, 1803, that the terms were agreed on. James Monroe and Mr. Livingston were appointed by the president to make the purchase. The sum paid was eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. America was also to pay certain debts due from France to American citizens, the sum not to exceed three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The southern portion of this immense tract of land became known as the territory of Orleans, which is the same as now the state of Louisiana.

John Marshall became chief justice of the United States in 1801. It had now become necessary to modify the law suitable to a republic, as heretofore English law had prevailed in America. This great work was accomplished by Justice Marshall.

Still there was trouble with the pirates of the Mediterranean, the emperors of Morocco, Algiers and Tripoli sending out their wicked ships to seize every American merchantman that was unlucky enough to come near them. In 1803 Commodore Preble was sent to the Mediterranean to protect American commerce and punish the pirates. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, sailed to Tripoli. When nearing his destination he gave chase to a pirate which fled for safety to the harbor and the poor *Philadelphia* ran upon a reef of rocks and was captured by the pirates, who showed some respect to the officers, but enslaved the crew. The next February saw Captain Decatur on his way to Tripoli in a Moorish ship named *The Intrepid*. At nightfall Decatur steered into the harbor, slipped alongside the *Philadelphia*, sprang on deck with his daring men and in a very short space of time had killed or driven overboard every Moor and fired the frigate. Not a man was lost to the Americans. In July of 1804 Commodore Preble arrived at Tripoli and began a siege. Several vessels were destroyed and the town was bombarded, and while this was going on William Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, had organized a force and was marching overland to Tripoli. Hamet, who was the rightful sovereign of Tripoli, was co-operating with Eaton in an attempt to recover his kingdom. Yusef, the Tripolitan emperor, alarmed at the dangers around him, made overtures for peace. His offer was accepted by Mr. Lear, the American consul for the Barbary states, and a treaty was signed June 4th, 1805.

It was in 1804 that the whole country was shocked with the intelligence that Vice-President Burr had killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel. Burr was quite aware that he would not be renominated for vice-president, so in 1803 he was announced as a candidate for the governorship of New York. Burr was an unusually bad man, and there is no doubt but Hamilton's influence in that state kept him from receiving the nomination. Burr tried to quarrel with Hamilton, challenged him, met him at Weehawken on the morning of July 11th, and deliberately murdered him. Hamilton was believed to have possessed the brightest intellect in America, and next to Washington he was probably the man most universally beloved. Burr fled after he had committed the murder and came not back at opening of congress. Jefferson was re-elected in 1804 and for vice-president George Clinton was chosen instead of Burr.

The next year Michigan was taken from the great north-western territory and Captains Lewis and Clarke set out for the falls of the Missouri river with thirty-five soldiers and hunters to explore Oregon. For two years, through the forest primeval and along the banks of rivers unknown to white men, they continued their explorations. After traversing a route of six thousand miles the adventurers with the loss of only one man arrived at home.

In the meantime Burr, who was a man of great personal charm, fell in with Mr. Blannerhasset and his wife. They were exiles from Ireland and came to America to make a home. They were possessed of great wealth and built them an elegant mansion on an island



which still bears the name of Blannerhasset in the Ohio river, opposite the mouth of the Muskingum. Burr made a tool of Blannerhasset and borrowed so much of him in carrying out his scheme, the truth of which he kept concealed from Blannerhasset until the exposure by the government's seizure of military stores. It has been said that the advantage taken by Burr of Blannerhasset and his beautiful wife was the crowning wickedness of his life. So fascinating a man was he that after being arrested for treason it became necessary to have every member of the guard swear they would hold no conversation with him. Burr was tried for treason and again his wonderful power over the hearts of men held sway, for he was declared *not guilty*. Poor, broken-hearted Blannerhasset, after seeking an office in England, returned here and died on the isle of Guernsey. Madame Blannerhasset, who is described as a model of beauty as well as a creature of dauntless courage, died penniless in New York city and was buried by some Irish women. Burr, without friends or fortune, found a home in Europe, where he lived in abject poverty. Everywhere he was shunned as a felon and an outlaw. He was peremptorily ordered from England, and when in France was under police surveillance. After many years passed in this way he returned to America and resumed the practice of law, but was, as he himself expressed it, "severed from the rest of mankind."

During Jefferson's second term the country was troubled by the aggressions of the British navy. The British authorities were determined to prevent trade between French ports and other nations. The

plan adopted by both countries was to blockade each other's ports with men-of-war. By this means the commerce of the United States was greatly injured. In May, 1806, British ships blockaded the entire French coast. American vessels approaching the ports were seized as prizes. Bonaparte retaliated by ordering the British Isles blockaded. Again American merchantmen became prizes. In January Great Britain prohibited the French coasting trade. Then Great Britain set up her peculiar claims of citizenship that whoever is born in England remains subject to England through life, and English cruisers were sent out to search American vessels for English subjects. Those who were taken were impressed as British seamen. The American frigate *Chesapeake* was hailed near Fortress Monroe by the British man-of-war *Leopard* on the 22d of June, 1807. British officers came on board and demanded to search the vessel for deserters. The demand was refused and the ship cleared for action; but before the guns could be charged the *Leopard* poured upon them so destructive a fire as to compel a surrender. Four men were taken from the ship, two of them American born. Great Britain disowned the outrage and promised to make amends, but the promise was not kept. Then the president issued a proclamation forbidding British ships to enter American harbors. On the 21st of December congress passed the *embargo act*, by which all American vessels were detained in the ports of the United States, the object being to cut off commerce with France and England. But this measure was not of avail and after fourteen months the embargo was removed.

In November, 1808, the British government published an "order in council" forbidding trade with France and her allies, and thereupon Napoleon issued the Milan decree forbidding all trade with England and her colonies. And between Brittania and France American trade did not amount to much.

And while the country was in this distressed condition Robert Fulton, an Irishman by descent and a Pennsylvanian by birth, was preparing a rapid method of navigation. He saw the great need of rapid transportation to match the rapid development of the nation. He built the first steamboat in New York. It was a homely, awkward craft. He invited some friends to go with him up the Hudson September 2d, 1807. Crowds of people lined the shore. The word was given, but the boat stirred not. Then Fulton went below. The word was given again and away the vessel moved and reached Albany the next day, and for many years afterward the boat, named the *Clermont*, sailed the Hudson.

Jefferson's administation drew to a close. He declined a renomination. During his administration the territorial area had been much extended. Burr's conspiracy of setting up a government of his own in Mexico had come to naught. Steam had found its way on most of the great rivers. The valley of the Mississippi promised to be soon settled by the thousands of pioneers that came, but the foreign relations were unpleasant.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION

**T**HOMAS JEFFERSON was succeeded by James Madison of Virginia, and George Clinton, who filled the seat made vacant by Burr's treason, was re-elected. The new president had been a member of the continental congress, a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1784, and secretary of state under Jefferson. He was elected by the Democratic party, who sympathized with France, but hated great Britain.

The embargo act was repealed by congress and another measure adopted by which American ships were allowed to go abroad, but forbidden to trade with Great Britain. Mr. Erskine, the British minister, now gave notice that by the 10th of June the "order in council" should be removed as far as the United States were concerned. But the next spring the first consul issued a decree for the seizure of all American vessels that approached the ports of France. In November, however, the decree was reversed, and all restrictions as to the commerce of the United States were removed.

But Great Britain *did not* conform to the promises of Mr. Erskine, and ships of war prowled around to enforce the "order in council." A crisis was approaching. The government of the United States was in complete control of those who sympathized with France. The

Americans were smarting under the insults of Great Britain and had adopted the motto of free trade and sailors' rights, and made up their minds to fight for their rights, since no other way seemed open to them.

In the spring of 1810 the third census showed a population of seven million two hundred and forty thousand souls. There were seventeen states, and a number of territories nearly ready to ask for admission to the union. An Indian war was imminent, for the red men were alarmed at the people coming to settle on their grounds. Indiana was then governed by General Harrison. Tecumseh was at that time the chief. He was born near the site of Springfield, Ohio. His father, Puckeshinwa, had been a member of the Kisopok tribe of the Swanoese nation; his mother, Methontaske, was a member of the Turtle tribe of the same nation. They removed from Florida about the time of Tecumseh's birth, 1768. In 1774 Tecumseh's father, who had risen to be chieftain, was killed at the battle of Point Pleasant. It was but a little time after this till the young brave gave evidence of his courage and in 1795 he was declared chief. He at this time lived at Dear Creek—near what is now the beautiful little city of Urbana. His brother, who announced himself as a prophet, bore a long Indian name which in English signified "open door." The chieftain and the prophet went to live on a tract of land on the Wabash river given them by the Pottawatomies and the Kickapoos. He was now about thirty-seven years of age, five feet ten inches in height, stoutly built, of commanding appearance, and of a very pleasant countenance. He had a good education for an Indian and

kept a confidential secretary and adviser, a half-breed, Billy Caldwell. Tecumseh had long been opposed to disposing of large grants of land to the whites. He undertook to unite all the tribes in a league and drive the white men away and visited all the tribes urging upon them this step, all in unison. General Harrison, watching the movements, became convinced that a great conspiracy was forming and made preparations to defend the settlements. During the year 1809 Tecumseh and the prophet were constantly making preparations, but in that year General Harrison succeeded in entering into a treaty with the Delawares, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel river Indians and Weas, in which these tribes ceded to the whites certain lands on the Wabash. To all of this Tecumseh entered a bitter protest, averring as a principal reason that he did not want the Indians to give up lands to the north and west of the Ohio river. From this time on there was trouble until the death of Tecumseh, who was at the head of a column of Indians in the battle of the Thames. Tecumseh was killed and his company fled.

Meantime Great Britain and the United States had come to war on the sea. Commodore Rodgers, commanding the frigate *President*, hailed a vessel off the coast of Virginia on the 16th of May. Instead of a polite reply he received a cannon ball in the main mast. Rodgers responded with a broadside, silencing the enemy's guns. This was in the darkness. By morning it was discovered that it was his majesty's ship of war *Little Belt*.

On November 4th, 1811, the twelfth congress of the

United States assembled. Many of the members still hoped for peace, and there was no decisive measures that winter. On the 4th of April, 1812, an act was passed laying an embargo for ninety days on all British ships in American harbors, but Great Britain would not retract an iota.

Before the outbreak of hostilities Louisiana was admitted into the union, making the nineteenth state. Her population had reached seventy-seven thousand, and now vigorous preparations for the approaching conflict was made, for on the 19th of June a declaration of war was made against Great Britain. Congress called for twenty-five thousand regular troops and fifty thousand volunteers. A national loan of eleven millions was authorized, and the several states were requested to call out a hundred thousand militia. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was made commander-in-chief of the army.

General William Hull, governor of Michigan territory, left Dayton on the 1st of June with fifteen hundred men. For a long month they struggled through the forests till they reached the western end of Lake Erie. When he arrived at Maumee he sent the baggage to Detroit, but the British at Malden were watching his movements and captured his boat and its contents. The Americans got to Detroit without their luggage and on July 12th crossed the river to Sandwich. Hull learned that Mackinaw had been taken by the British and returned to Detroit, and sent Major Van Horne to meet Major Brush, who was at Raisin river with reinforcements, but Tecumseh laid an ambush for Van Horne's forces and defeated them

near Brownstown. Colonel Miller, however, with another detachment attacked Tecumseh's forces and routed them with great loss.

The British command was now given to General Brock, governor of Canada. August 16th he advanced to Detroit. The Americans were in their trenches eager for the fray. When the British were within five hundred yards of the fort *Hull raised a white flag*. This surrender was the most shameful in American history. Of course all the forces under Hull's command were made prisoners of war, and indeed the whole Michigan territory was surrendered to the British. Hull was court-martialed and sentenced to be shot, but the president pardoned him.

Fort Dearborn stood on the present site of Chicago and about the time of the surrender of Detroit it also surrendered to an army of Indians. The garrison capitulated on condition of retiring without molestation, but the Indians had filled themselves with fire water and they fell on the retreating soldiers, scalping some and distributing the rest as captives.

The frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, overtook the British *Guerriere* off the coast of Massachusetts. There was some manœuvring and then the *Constitution* closed with her antagonist, until at the distance of half pistol shot she poured a broadside which swept the decks of the *Guerriere* and decided the battle. The next morning the broken *Guerriere*, being unmanageable, was blown up, and Hull returned to port with prisoners and spoils. The 18th of October following the American *Wasp* under Captain Jones came upon a fleet of British merchant-



men off the Virginia coast. The merchantmen had a protector in his majesty's ship of war *Frolic*. This engagement was terrific. Finally the *Frolic* was taken, but the *Poictiers*, a British seventy-four gun ship, gave chase, captured the *Wasp* and retook the *Frolic*, which was almost a wreck.

Commodore Decatur on the 25th, commanding the frigate *United States*, captured the British *Macedonian* a little to the west of the Canary isles. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded amounted to more than a hundred. On the 12th of December the *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, captured the *Nocton*, a British packet having on board fifty-five thousand dollars in specie. On the 29th of December the *Constitution*, under Commodore Bainbridge, met the *Java* on the Brazilian coast. The battle was furious and continued for two hours. The *Java* was reduced almost to kindling wood. The crew and passengers, numbering more than four hundred, were transferred to the *Constitution* and the hull burned at sea. There is no news like that of victories, and Americans were exultant. On the 13th of October a thousand men under General Stephen Van Rensselaer crossed the Niagara river to capture Queenstown. They were met at the water's edge, but at length they carried even the batteries on the heights. The enemy's forces returned to the charge, but were repulsed the second time. General Brock, the British commander, was mortally wounded. The Americans entrenched themselves and waited for reinforcements. None came, and they were obliged to surrender after losing a hundred and sixty men. General Van Rensselaer

resigned his command and General Alexander Smyth succeeded him. Now the Americans rallied at Black Rock, a little north of Buffalo. On the 28th of November a company was sent across to the Canada shore, but General Smyth ordered the return of the advance party. After a few days another crossing was made and again they were directed to return to winter quarters. The militia became mutinous. General Smyth was charged with cowardice, and the office of commander was no longer his.

It was again election day. The president was re-elected and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, vice-president.

The army was now organized in three divisions—the Army of the North under General Wade Hampton, the Army of the Center under the commander-in-chief, the Army of the West under General Winchester, who was soon superseded by General Harrison. Henry Dearborn was still commander-in-chief of the army. Early in January the Army of the West moved toward Lake Erie, hoping to regain the ground lost by the coward Hull. By the 10th the advance army had reached the Maumee rapids. A detachment hurried forward to Frenchtown on the Raisin river and captured the town, and on the 20th were joined by Winchester with the main division.

Only two days later the Americans were assaulted by fifteen hundred British and Indians under General Proctor. The battle was severe. General Winchester was taken by the enemy and advised his forces to capitulate. The American *wounded were left to be butchered by the savages*, who were not long about it,

and the prisoners were dragged away with dreadful sufferings to Detroit, where they were ransomed.

General Harrison had built Fort Meigs on the Maumee and here he was besieged by two thousand British and savages led by General Proctor and the chief Tecumseh. General Clay with twelve hundred Kentuckians was advancing to the relief. Very soon the Indians deserted in large bodies and Proctor withdrew to Malden. Late in July Proctor and Tecumseh again made a siege. They failed to draw out the garrison and then the British general filed off with half his forces and took Fort Stevenson at Lower Sandusky. This place was defended by a hundred and sixty men under Colonel Croghan, a youth but twenty-one years of age. On the 2nd of August the British, having no doubts of storming the fort, crowded the trenches so that they were swept away as if by a cyclone. The living retreated immediately and Proctor now raised the siege at Fort Meigs and returned to Malden.

At this time the British had a squadron of six vessels on Lake Erie. Commodore Oliver H. Perry undertook to recover these waters. Commodore Barclay in command of the British fleet was a veteran from Europe. Perry directed the construction of nine ships and they were soon afloat. The fleets met near Put-in-Bay. The *Lawrence*, Perry's flag ship, led the attack. His especial antagonist was the *Detroit*, under command of Barclay. So furious was the engagement that in a short time both vessels were ruined. Then Perry caught his banner and jumping into an open boat soon hoisted it on the *Niagara*.

This vessel was a powerful one. He bore down upon the enemy's line, through the midst, discharging broadsides right and left. In fifteen minutes the battle was won. The British fleet was helpless. Perry climbed again on board of the *Lawrence* and received the surrender from the hull, and then dispatched a fleet messenger to the president with the message, "*We have met the enemy, and they are ours.*"

And now the way seemed open to Canada. On September 27th Harrison's army was landed near Malden. The British retreated to the river Thames and there prepared for battle. The battle field extended from the river to a swamp. The 5th of October the attack was made by Generals Harrison and Shelby. Early in the engagement Proctor disappeared. The British regulars were broken by the Kentuckians under Colonel Richard M. Johnson. The Americans wheeled against the fifteen hundred Indians who lay hidden in the swamp. Tecumseh had staked his all on the issue. There was a time when his war-whoop sounded above the noise of musketry, but it soon was lost. He had fallen. The red-skins knew not what to do since he was no longer to direct them, and they fled through the swamp. Now all that Hull had lost was regained.

But while these victories were attained in the north, the Creeks of Alabama had taken up arms, and in the latter part of August Fort Mims, forty miles north of Fort Mobile, was surprised by the Indians, who murdered about four hundred persons. The governors of Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi made haste to invade the Creek country. The Tennesseans were

commanded by General Jackson and were the first invaders. Nine hundred men led by General Coffee reached the Indian town of Tallushatchee, burned it and swept every dweller from off the face of the earth. On November 8th another battle was fought at Talladega and the Indian loss was great. There was another battle at Autosse, and again the Indians suffered. During the winter the white troops grew mutinous and wanted to go home, but glorious General Jackson ate his breakfast, dinner and supper of acorns without grumbling, and they followed his example. On the 22d of January the battle of Emucfau was fought and again the victory belonged to the Tennesseans. Then the Creeks took up a position at the Horseshoe Bend. The whites stormed the breastworks and the thousand Creek warriors, women and papposes, were swept away. There was not a Creek Indian in the country.

On the 25th of April, 1813, General Dearborn, commanding the Center Army, embarked his forces at Sackett's Harbor and sailed for Toronto. The most important British supplies were stored at this place. The American fleet under Commodore Chauncey were already masters of Lake Ontario. On the 27th of the month seventeen hundred men landed near Toronto. The Americans drove the enemy from the water's edge, stormed a battery and were striving to carry the main defences when the British magazine exploded. Two hundred men were killed or wounded. General Pike was fatally injured, but the Americans stormed the town and drove the British away. The value of stores taken was about half a million, and while this

was going on the enemy had slipped down to Sackett's Harbor. But General Brown rallied the militia to such an extent that they retreated for a time. The victorious troops at Toronto re-embarked and crossed the lake to the mouth of the Niagara, and on the 27th of May, led by Generals Chandler and Winder, stormed Fort George. The British retreated.

After the battle of the Thames General Harrison sent his forces to Buffalo, and then he resigned his commission. General Dearborn likewise resigned and General Wilkinson succeeded him. The conquest of Montreal was planned by General Armstrong. The Army of the Center was ordered to join the Army of the North on the St. Lawrence. British Canadians and Indians in small parties on the banks hindered and annoyed the expedition. General Brown landed with quite a force to drive these people into the interior, and on the 14th an indecisive though severe battle was fought at Chrysler's field. The Americans then passed down the river to St. Regis, where the forces of General Hampton were expected to join Wilkinson's command. But General Hampton not putting in an appearance, the army went into winter quarters at Fort Covington.

But meanwhile the British on the Niagara had captured Fort George. Before his retreat General McClure, the commandant, had burned the town of Newark. The British and Indians crossed the river, took Fort Niagara and burned the towns of Manchester, Lewiston and Youngstown, and on the 30th of December Buffalo and Black Rock were burned.

Away on the coast of Demarara the sloop of war

*Hornet*, commanded by Captain James Lawrence, fell in with the British ship *Peacock*. A terrible battle lasted a quarter of an hour and [the *Peacock's* colors came down. While the Americans were transferring the conquered crew the wrecked *Peacock* suddenly went down.

After his return to Boston General Lawrence was asked to take command of the *Chesapeake*, and he immediately put to sea. Captain Broke, of the British *Shannon*, soon challenged him. The vessels met to the eastward of Cape Ann June 1st. The battle has been described as "obstinate, brief, dreadful." In a short time every officer on the *Chesapeake* was wounded, dying, or dead. Lawrence was struck by a musket ball and fell dying on the deck. As he was carried down the hatchway, he gave his last order, "*Don't give up the ship.*" This has been the motto of American sailors since. The *Shannon* towed her prize into Halifax. Both Lawrence and the second commander were buried by the British.

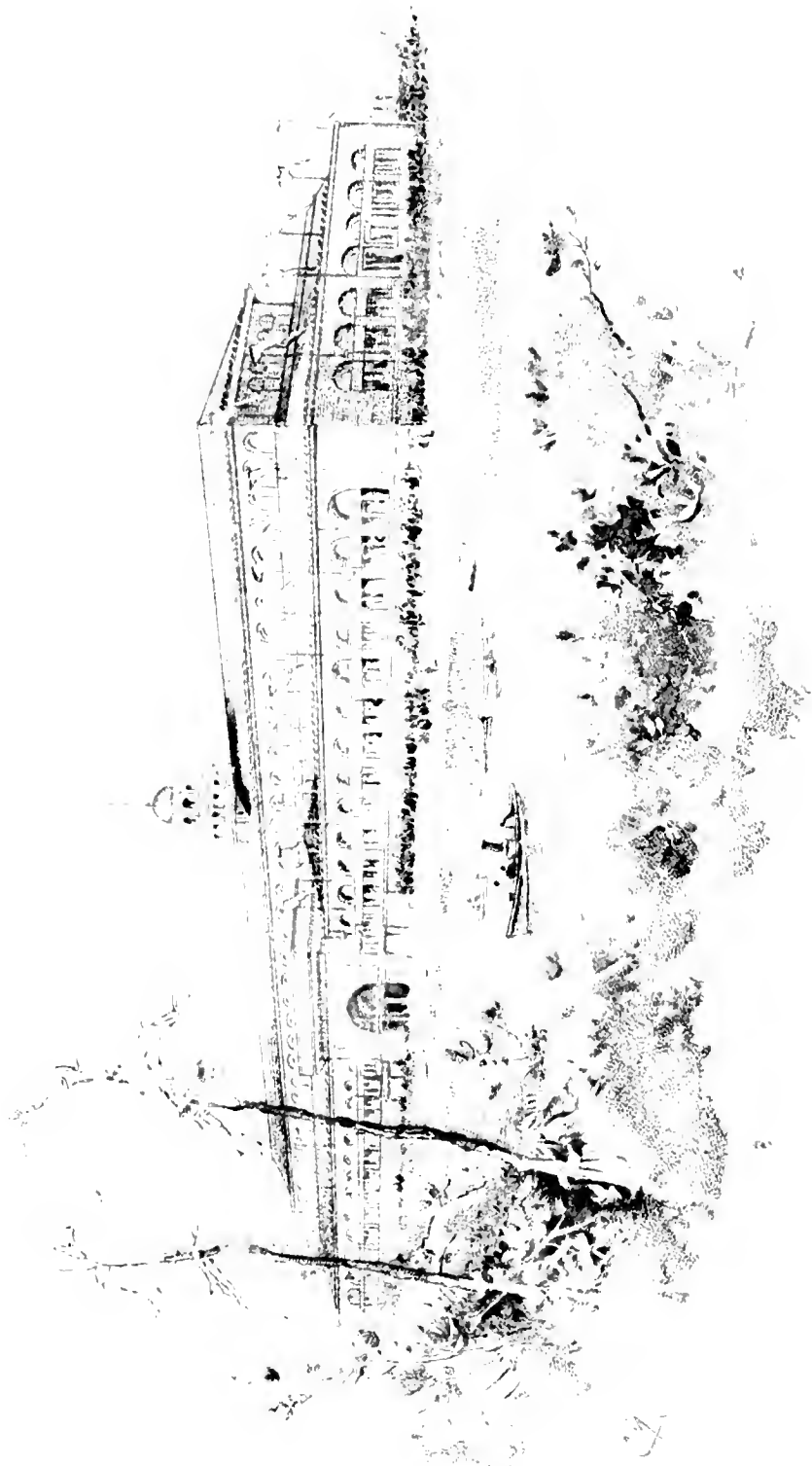
The American brig *Argus* was on the 14th of August chased by the *Pelican* and forced to surrender. But on the 5th of September the saucy British brig *Boxer* was caught by the *Enterprise* off the coast of Maine and Captain Blyth the Briton and Captain Burrows the American were buried side by side at Portland. On the 28th of March following while the *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, was in the harbor of Valparaiso, she was attacked by the *Phæbe* and *Cherub* and defended by Porter till nearly all his men were gone, when he struck his colors and surrendered. After this, honorable warfare ceased and

great outrages were committed by British mariners.

Another invasion of Canada was planned. Generals Scott and Ripley were in charge of three thousand men. On the evening of July 5th, 1814, a battle was fought in which the Americans were victorious. It was fought on the high grounds in sight of Niagara Falls, General Scott commanding the American army, General Riall the British. This was the hardest battle of the war. The British were forced to retreat. The loss on either side was about eight hundred. After this battle, which is known as that of Lundy's Lane or of Niagara, the American forces fell back to Fort Erie. General Gaines crossed to Buffalo and assumed command of the army. General Drummond received reinforcements and the siege of Fort Erie commenced on the 4th of August. The siege continued until the 17th of September. A sortie was made and the British works carried. General Drummond raised the siege and retreated to Fort George. On November 5th the Americans destroyed the fort and went into winter quarters at Buffalo and Black Rock.

Then war on the lakes and rivers grew constant until at last the English ministry grew anxious to make peace. But in the meantime the war went on. Among the boldest schemes was the capture of Washington and the destruction of all the public buildings except the patent office. The president and officers fled. Five days later a part of the large force would have destroyed Alexandria, and to purchase peace the inhabitants gave to them twenty-one ships, sixteen thousand barrels of flour and a thousand hogsheads of





TRANSPORTATION BUILDING.

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893.



tobacco. Then the siege of Baltimore commenced, but after about fifteen hours of constant bombardment the fort was as good as ever. They gave up and retreated. Stonington, Connecticut, was bombarded, but when the British attempted to land they were driven back. The fisheries of New England were broken up, and the salt works of Cape Cod were compelled to pay a heavy ransom to keep from being destroyed. All the harbors from Maine to Delaware were blockaded. The members of the Federal party cried out against the war. The legislature of Massachusetts advised the calling of a convention. The other eastern states responded to the call, and the 14th of December found the delegates assembled at Hartford.

The leaders of the Democratic party did not hesitate to say that this assembly was treasonable and disloyal. With closed doors the assembly remained in session three weeks and then published an address and adjourned. The political prospects of the delegates were ruined.

While all this trouble was going on the Spaniards began to sympathize with the British, and in August, 1814, a British fleet was allowed the use of the Pensacola port to fit out an expedition against Fort Bowyer, on the bay of Mobile. General Jackson, commander of the South, remonstrated with the Spaniards to no purpose, so he marched against Pensacola, stormed the city and drove the British out of Florida. Hearing that they were making preparations for capturing Louisiana, he went immediately to New Orleans, declared martial law, mustered the militia,

and adopted measures for repelling the invasion. He learned through a smuggler the enemy's plans. The British army, numbering twelve thousand, came from Jamaica under Sir Edward Packenham. On the 10th of December the squadrons entered lake Borgne, sixty miles north-east of New Orleans. Packenham's advance reached the river nine miles above the city on the 22nd, and Generals Jackson and Coffee advanced with two thousand Tennessee riflemen to attack the British camp on the 23rd. It was a bloody affair and the Americans were forced to retreat and take up a position four miles from the city. On the 28th Packenham advanced to the American position and cannonaded the redoubt, and on New Year's day he renewed the attack, but without effect. Packenham now made arrangements for a great battle. General Jackson was not idle. The battle began at daylight, and was ended before nine o'clock a. m. The breast-works were so well constructed that the enemy could do them comparatively no harm. Packenham was killed, General Gibbs mortally wounded. General Lambert was the officer who called the remnant of the army from the field. The British loss besides the two generals was seven hundred killed, fourteen hundred wounded and five hundred taken prisoners. The American loss was *eight killed*, thirteen wounded. This closed the war on land.

The American *Constitution* off Cape Vincent captured two British vessels, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*. This occurred on the 20th of February, and on the 23rd of March the American *Hornet* concluded the marine war by capturing the British *Penguin* off the

coast of Brazil. But the treaty of peace had been already made. On the 18th of February it was ratified by the senate and peace was proclaimed.

But this treaty amounted to nothing. It was devoted to the settlement of unimportant boundaries and some little islands in Passamaquoddy bay. It said nothing of the wrongs done to the commerce of the United States, nothing of sailors' rights and free trade. The impressment of American seamen was not named. Indeed, not one of the issues upon which the war was undertaken was referred to in any way. There was a war debt of a hundred million dollars. The money matters of the entire country were about as bad as they could be. The charter of the United States bank expired in 1811 and other banks had been forced to suspend specie payment. A bill was passed in 1816 to recharter the Bank of the United States. The president vetoed it, but on the 4th of March, 1817, the bank began operation and very soon business began to revive.

While the war with Great Britain was going on the Algerine pirates were quite busy, making depredations on American vessels of commerce. Commodore Decatur was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean and thoroughly chastise these sea robbers. It was June 17th when Decatur met the principal frigate of the Algerine squadron. The fight was severe, but the Moorish ship surrendered. On December 19th another Moorish ship was captured, and a few days later he sailed into the bay of Algiers and the frightened dey was glad to make a treaty. The Moorish emperor released his American prisoners, relinquished

all claim to tribute and gave a pledge that his ships should never more trouble American merchantmen. Decatur now turned his attention to Tunis and Tripoli and compelled these states to pay large sums of money for past wrongs and give pledges for future good conduct.

Near the close of Madison's administration Indiana came into the union. In the same year (1816-17) the Colonization Society of the United States was formed. It was composed of distinguished Americans, the object being to provide a refuge for free persons of color. Liberia in Western Africa was selected as the seat of the proposed colony. Immigrants came in numbers, so that it was a flourishing negro state. The capital was named in honor of the president, James Monroe, *Monrovia*. Monroe succeeded Madison and the vice-president was Daniel D. Tompkins of New York.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

**T**HE stormy days of the war were passed and peace came and staid for many years. Statesmen of all parties worked with energy to pay the national debt. Commerce revived. The government was carried on economically and in a few years the debt was paid.

In December, 1817, Mississippi was organized and admitted into the union. There were sixty-five thousand souls in the state, and there was also a gang of pirates who had headquarters at Amelia Island off the coast of Florida, but they were now broken up, as was another company of them on the island of Galveston.

And now that the country was found so productive the question was how to transport the products to a suitable market. Without roads and canals nothing could be done in the interior. Whether congress had a right to vote money to public improvements was a question of serious debate. In one instance a bill was passed making appropriation for a national road across the Alleghanies from Cumberland to Wheeling. New York state took the lead in state improvements by constructing a canal from Buffalo to Albany at a cost of nearly eight million dollars.

Again there was trouble among the Indians in the south. The Seminoles were joined by a few Creeks

and negroes, and finally General Jackson had to be called upon to suppress them. It was found that two Englishmen named Arbuthnot and Ambristor had incited the Seminoles to insurrection. These men were tried by court-martial and hanged. Jackson then captured Pensacola and sent the Spanish authorities to Havana. He was heartily criticised for this by some private citizens and newspapers, but the president and congress justified him. And now the king of Spain proposed to cede Florida to the United States. A treaty was made at Washington city in 1819 by which the whole province was surrendered to the American government. The United States agreed to relinquish all claim to Texas and to pay to American citizens claims for depredations by Spanish vessels.

In 1818 the twenty-first state was admitted into the union, Illinois, with a population of forty-seven thousand. In December, 1819, Alabama was admitted with one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants. In August of 1821 Missouri came in with seventy-four thousand, and in 1820 Maine was separated from Massachusetts and became admitted. About this time the territory of Arkansas was organized. With the bill to admit Missouri was a proposition to prohibit slavery in all new states. This measure was supported by the free states of the North and opposed by the slave states of the South. Long and angry debates followed, till it was said congress was nearly distracted. At last the measure known as the *Missouri compromise* was adopted. Its provisions were, *first, the admission of Missouri as a slave-hold-*



*ing state; secondly*, the division of the rest of the Louisiana purchase by the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; *thirdly*, the admission of new states south of that line with or without slavery, as the people might determine; *fourthly*, the prohibition of slavery in all new states north of the dividing line, which is generally known as Mason & Dixon's line.

The president's administration gave great satisfaction to the people, and in the fall of 1820 he was re-elected, and Mr. Tompkins as vice-president was re-elected. The attention of American authorities was called to a system of piracy carried on in the West Indies. In 1822 Commodore Porter went after them with a large squadron and the retreats of the sea robbers were completely destroyed.

Many of the South American countries declared their independence of foreign nations about this time, and this spirit was met with sympathy by the northern patriots. Henry Clay urged upon the government the duty of recognizing these South American republics. In March of 1823 the president's message contained the declaration that *the American continents are not subject to colonization by any European power*, and this is the famous *Monroe doctrine*. La Fayette visited the land for whose freedom he had shed his blood in 1824. He was venerable in appearance. Everywhere he was greeted and honored. His whole tour was one of triumph. He returned to France in September, 1825. His name will live in the hearts of Americans until the union of states shall be no more. In the fall of 1824 four candidates were nominated for the presidency—John Quincy Adams, candidate for

the east; William H. Crawford, candidate for the south; Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson were the favorites of the west. Neither of the candidates received a majority of the electoral votes and the choice of president fell to the house of representatives, and Mr. Adams was declared president elect and John C. Calhoun was chosen vice-president by the electoral college. This year the New York gas light company was incorporated, but the work was not successfully carried on until 1827.

On the 13th of March, 1824, a treaty was concluded between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade. By the terms of this treaty vessels were to be sent out from both countries to cruise the waters over which the slave ships pass and to capture and bring to trial all such vessels. Tallahassee was laid out and a settlement at once commenced, the city being the capital of Florida. The first bank in Brooklyn was organized, by name the Long Island Bank, and the first insurance company organized. It was called The Brooklyn Fire Insurance Company. The *Boston Courier* appeared in Boston on March 2d. The manufacture of flannel by water power was begun in Amesbury, Massachusetts. This year the use of marble for building purposes was commenced, and so strong were the objections to the use of it that not a builder would undertake the job, and a man was pardoned out of Sing Sing for the purpose of superintending the work. The city hall and American museum at the corner of Broadway and Ann streets were the first in New York city with marble fronts.

Early in 1825 the first Sunday newspaper was published, called *The Sunday Courier*, but it soon died for want of patronage. The Erie canal was completed in October and the event was duly celebrated, and on the 20th of October the Erie, Champlain and Hudson canal was completed. The Italian opera was introduced into the United States and the first entertainment was at the Park theater in New York. The homeopathic method of treatment was also introduced into this country by a New York physician who had removed from this country to Copenhagen and brought the new practice back with him. The manufacture of queensware, the first in the country, was commenced at Philadelphia. Wolves must have been plenty, for we learn from a report by the comptroller of the state of New York that nearly *ninety thousand dollars* was paid out of the treasury during the preceding ten years for the destruction of wolves in that state.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### THE SECOND ADAMS.

**J**OHAN QUINCY ADAMS was a man of remarkable attainments in literature and in statesmanship. When he was eleven years old he went with his father, John Adams, to Europe. At Paris and Amsterdam and St. Petersburg he continued his studies and became acquainted with the politics of the old world. When he was older he went as ambassador to the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Russia and England. He had been United States senator and secretary of state also. There was much party feeling and the adherents of General Jackson and Mr. Crawford acted in unison in opposition to the president, and in the senate the president's political friends were in the minority, and their majority lasted only one session in the lower house. The president in his inaugural address strongly favored internal improvements.

Fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, on July 4th, John Adams, second president of the United States, and Thomas Jefferson passed away. Adams was ninety years of age and Jefferson eighty-two.

In the congressional debates of 1828 the question of tariffs was much discussed. A tariff is a duty levied on imported goods. The object of the tariff is, first, to procure a revenue for the government, and, secondly, to raise the price of the imported article so

that the American manufacturers of the taxed articles may be able to compete with the foreign producer. When the duty is levied for the latter purpose it is a protective tariff.

Mr. Adams and his party favored the protective tariff, and duties were accordingly laid on fabrics of silk, wool, linen and cotton, and also on manufactured articles of iron, lead, and various other articles.

At the next election General Jackson was triumphantly elected by a hundred and seventy-eight electoral votes against seventy-eight for Adams.

Andrew Jackson was already known to be a military hero, a man of the highest honor, and one with a will of iron—nothing that he attempted but was crowned with success.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

**A**T the very beginning of his administration Jackson removed seven hundred office holders and appointed men who were politically his friends.

In the congressional session of 1831-32 additional tariffs were levied upon imported goods. By this act the manufacturing districts were benefited, while the agricultural were not. South Carolina felt that she was not being favored. A convention of her people was held, and it was resolved that the tariff law of congress was null and void. Open resistance was threatened in case the officers came to collect revenues at Charleston. In the United States senate the right of a state to nullify an act of congress was proclaimed. It was on this question that the memorable debate between Colonel Hayne, senator from South Carolina, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, occurred. Colonel Hayne was the champion of state rights. Webster was in favor of constitutional supremacy. The president took the matter in hand and issued a proclamation denying the right of a state to nullify the laws of congress. Mr. Calhoun, the vice-president, resigned his position, so that he might accept a seat in the senate, where he might defend the sentiments of his state. The president, having warned the South Carolinians, ordered a body of troops under General

Scott to proceed to Charleston. The leaders of the nullifying party receded from their position and there was no bloodshed. Soon Mr. Clay made provision for a bill providing for a gradual reduction of tariff until it should reach the point that Carolina desired.

Early in 1832 the Sac, Fox and Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin, led by the famous Black Hawk of Wisconsin, began a war. The lands of the Foxes and the Sacs had been purchased twenty-five years previously by the United States. The Indians, however remained in the ceded territory, and when at last they were asked for possession they stubbornly refused and at once assumed a hostile attitude. The governor of Illinois called out the militia. General Scott was sent with troops to Chicago to co-operate with General Atkinson, who waged a vigorous campaign. Black Hawk was taken prisoner and carried to Washington and all the large eastern cities. Returning to his own people, he advised them to make peace. The warriors gave up the disputed lands and took Iowa for their hunting grounds.

There were difficulties too with the Cherokees of Georgia, who were the most civilized of the nations east of the Rocky Mountains. The United States had promised to buy the Cherokee lands for the benefit of Georgia, but had not done so. The legislature passed a statute extending the laws of the state over the Indians, while the Cherokees and Creeks were denied the use of the state courts. The Indians appealed to the president for assistance. He refused to interfere. He recommended the removal of the Cherokees beyond the Mississippi. The Indian territory was accordingly

organized in 1834. The Indians yielded, but with great reluctance. A little more than five million dollars were paid them for the lands. General Scott at last removed them. During the years 1837-38 the Cherokees were removed to Indian territory.

The Seminoles were not settled so easily. There was an attempt to remove this tribe beyond the Mississippi. The hostilities were kept up from 1835 to 1839. Osceola and Micanopy, chiefs of the nation, denied the validity of a former cession of the Seminole lands. General Thompson was obliged to arrest Osceola and put him in irons. The chief then gave his assent to the old treaty, and was liberated, only to enter into a conspiracy to destroy the whites. Major Dade was dispatched from Fort Brooke on Tampa bay [with a hundred and seventeen men to reinforce General Clinch at Fort Drane. The forces fell into an ambuscade and all perished but one man. On the same day Osceola murdered General Thompson and his companions. General Clinch defeated the Indians at Withlacoochie on the 31st of December, and on the 29th of February, 1836, General Gaines was attacked near the same battlefield and the Seminoles were repulsed. In October Governor Call of Florida, with two thousand men, overtook the savages in the Wahoo swamp near the place where Dade was massacred. The Indians were again defeated and driven into the everglades.

The president so repeatedly vetoed the charter of the United States bank that at length it came to an end. He thought the surplus funds which had accumulated in the vault would be better distributed among the



states. So in October, 1833, he ordered the bank funds, ten millions of dollars, to be distributed among certain state banks designated for that purpose. The financial panic of 1836-37 was attributed by the Whigs to the removal of the funds and destruction of the bank. The adherents of the President declared the panic due to having kept the bank so long. During this year (1834) branch mints were established by an act of congress at New Orleans, Dahlonega, Georgia, and at Charlotte, North Carolina.

The first settlement in Oregon was in this year. New Orleans was lighted with gas. There was a mail carried on horse-back once a week to Chicago. This came by way of Niles, Michigan. Brooklyn, Long Island, was incorporated into a city, and Rochester, New York, also. Burlington, Iowa, was laid out. The first steam power printing press set up in the west was at Cincinnati for the publication of the *Gazette*. The first gun rifled in America was accomplished at South Boston, Massachusetts. Hammered brass kettles were made at Wolcottville, Connecticut. Wood screws made by machinery were turned out at Providence, Rhode Island. The first table cutlery was made at Greenfield, Massachusetts. The New Jersey railroad from Jersey City to New Brunswick was completed this year, and the Philadelphia & Trenton railroad opened to the public.

France had not paid the five millions promised to the United States, due long since. The president recommended congress to make reprisals on French merchantmen. This reminder had its effect, and the money was paid. Portugal also paid her debts after such reminder.

Several eminent statesmen passed away during the few years previous to this. On the 4th of July, 1831, ex-President Monroe slept his last sleep. The next year Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, died at the age of ninety-six. Philip Freneau, the poet of the revolution, passed to the happy land of which he wrote. On the 24th of June, 1833, John Randolph, of Roanoke, died at Philadelphia, and in 1835 Chief Justice Marshall joined his friends on the otherside. He was eighty years of age. The next year ex-President Madison passed over the silent river.

This was the year of the great meteoric display over the United States. It was the most remarkable display recorded in all ages, commencing on the 13th of November, 1833. The chief scene of the display was within the limits of longitude of sixty-one degrees in the Atlantic ocean, one hundred degrees in Mexico and from the North American lakes to the southern side of the island of Jamaica. From two a. m. until broad daylight the sky was cloudless, and there was a constant and indescribable beautiful shower of stars.

Michigan territory now knocked at the doors of the union and she brought a population of a hundred and fifty-seven thousand. Another presidential election was at hand and Martin Van Buren was chosen. There was not a majority for vice-president. The choice was left to the senate. Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was declared vice-president.

## CHAPTER XL.

### VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE eighth president had been a senator in 1821, and in 1828 he was elected governor of New York, and a little later sent as minister to England. From that mission he came to preside over the United States. One of his first duties was to make an end of the Seminole war. This required a long time, but Colonel Zachary Taylor accomplished the task.

In 1837 there was a tremendous money panic from many causes—probably the chief one being that these state banks were not limited, and so sent out paper they had no means to redeem. Another cause was that of land speculation, and still another the excessive importation of merchandise beyond the wants and the means of the people. Payments became due, and as there was no money forthcoming United States credit became impaired in London and occasioned a large importation of specie to Europe. The 10th of May all the banks in the city of New York by common consent suspended payment. The banks in Boston, Providence, Hartford, Albany, Philadelphia and Baltimore closed their doors. During the two months preceding this the financial distresses in mercantile circles was dreadful. The whole country suffered, but the large cities the most. In New York alone there were three hundred failures of large con

cerns and innumerable smaller ones. In two days the houses which stopped payment in New Orleans had liabilities amounting to *twenty-seven millions of dollars*. In Boston there were a hundred and eighty-eight failures in six months.

The time for a presidential election was now at hand. Mr. Van Buren was again a candidate and received the support of the Democratic party. The Whigs nominated General Harrison. The canvass was one of the most exciting in the history of America. Harrison was elected by a large majority, and now after forty consecutive years the Democratic party retired for a time. Vice-President John Tyler of Virginia succeeded Colonel Johnson of Kentucky.

Harrison was by birth a Virginian and the adopted son of Robert Morris, whose wealth materially aided the United States in the revolution. Harrison was a graduate of Hampden-Sidney college and entered the army under General St. Clair. He became governor of Indiana territory, and showed great ability in the management of the affairs of the territory.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### HARRISON AND TYLER ADMINISTRATIONS.

**H**ARRISON began his presidential duties by calling a special session of congress. An able cabinet was formed with Daniel Webster as secretary of war, and all affairs were in a most promising condition under the new Whig administration, but before congress could convene he took sick and died just a month after his inauguration.

On the 6th of April Mr. Tyler became president. He was also a Virginian, a graduate of William and Mary college. He had been governor of Virginia and senator of the United States, and he had been put on the Harrison ticket through motives of expediency, for though in politics a Whig he was known *to be opposed to the United States bank*.

One of the first measures of the new congress was to repeal the independent treasury bill, which was passed under Van Buren's administration. A bankrupt law was passed for the assistance of insolvent business men. A bill for rechartering the United States bank was laid before the president, who vetoed it, and again the bill received the assent of both houses, only to receive the president's veto. Every member of the cabinet save Daniel Webster resigned his seat.

And now there was trouble about the north-east boundary line between the United States and British

dominions. Ever since the treaty of 1783 that line had been questioned. Lord Ashburton of Great Britain and Daniel Webster of the United States were to decide the question. The boundaries were decided to the satisfaction of both parties.

The next year Rhode Island had a war of their own. The two parties were called Law-and-Order and Suffrage parties. Samuel King was elected governor of the Law-and-Order party and Thomas W. Dorr of the Suffrage party. Dorr was in the wrong. He fled the state, but afterwards was arrested and tried for treason and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was then offered a pardon, but refused to accept it, but in June of 1845 he was set at liberty.

The Mormons about this time came under Joseph Smith. The first settlement was in Jackson county, Missouri. There were some fifteen hundred of them. There was trouble between the people and state and they were obliged to leave. In 1839 they crossed the Mississippi into Illinois and laid out a city which they called Nauvoo, signifying the beautiful. They built a splendid temple. They soon numbered ten thousand. Then serious trouble arose between the state and the Mormons and there was war. Smith and his brothers were arrested and taken to Carthage and jailed. The jail was stormed and the prisoners came near being killed. At length the Mormons crossed the Rocky Mountains, reached the great Salt Lake and founded Utah territory.

There was trouble in Tennessee, too, from 1821 to 1836. This territory had been a province of Mexico. It had been the policy to keep Texas uninhabited so

the Americans might not encroach on Mexican grounds. At length a land grant was made to Moses Austin of Connecticut, on condition that he would settle three hundred families within the limits of his domain. Afterward the grant was conferred to his son Stephen, with the privilege of establishing five hundred additional families of immigrants. In 1835 the Texans rebelled and in a battle fought at Gonzales a thousand Mexicans were defeated by five hundred Texans. On the 6th of March the Texan fort called the Alamo was surrounded by eight thousand Mexicans, led by Santa Anna. The garrison was overpowered and massacred. David Crocket, the hardy pioneer, was one of the victims. A month later a decisive battle was fought at San Jacinto and Texas was independent and asked to be admitted into the union and in March, 1845, was admitted.

Florida and Iowa were applicants, but Iowa did not come in until the following year.

In 1844 James K. Polk was elected president and George M. Dallas vice-president. The news was sent from Baltimore to Washington by *telegraph*. S. F. B. Morse was the inventor of magnetic telegraphy. People were amused at the novelty, but it was a long time before they saw the utility of it. It was through the assistance of Ezra Cornell of New York and Mr. Corcoran of Washington that it was tested sufficiently to make its value known. The same year Charles Goodyear, after experimenting more than ten years, discovered the secret of vulcanizing India rubber. Mr. E. M. Chaffee, a foreman of a Boston patent leather factory, experimented by pouring some melted

India rubber on a piece of thin cloth. It was found to be smooth, looked like patent leather and was waterproof. A number of capitalists grew interested in the invention and enough could not be made to fill the demand. But while the rubbers so made were good in cool weather they became a mass of sticky gum in summer and smelled so horribly that the returned stock had to be buried. There was a loss of over two millions to stock-holders. The first operations in copper mining were commenced this year at Lake Superior.

A treaty was made between the United States and China by which the citizens of America were allowed to trade and to reside in the ports of Kwang-chow, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. In June there was a rise of the Missouri and the middle section of the Mississippi which exceeded all floods heretofore known and did incalculable damage. The first American newspaper started on the Pacific coast was issued at Oregon City and called *The Flumgudgeon Gazette* or *Bumblebee Budget*. The *Evening Journal* was established at Chicago.



## CHAPTER XLII.

### POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT POLK was a native of North Carolina. When a boy he removed with his father to Tennessee. In 1839 he was elected governor of Tennessee. He placed James Buchanan at the head of his cabinet. A war with Mexico was at hand. Texas appealed for protection and General Zachary Taylor was ordered from New Orleans to Mexico. The question was one of the boundaries. Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her western limit, while Mexico was determined to have the Nueces as the separating line. The United States government supported the claim of Texas. For years the war raged and in the winter of 1847-48 a treaty was signed. By the terms of settlement the boundary line between Mexico and Texas was established on the Rio Grande westward along the southern, and northward along the western boundary of that territory to the Gila; thence down the river to the Colorado; thence westward to the Pacific. New Mexico and upper California were relinquished to the United States. Mexico guaranteed the free navigation of the Gulf of California and the Colorado river. The United States agreed to surrender all places in Mexico and to pay that country fifteen millions of dollars and to assume all debts due American citizens from the Mexican government.

Only a few days later gold was discovered at the American fork of the Sacramento river. The news seemed borne upon the wind and soon the country was filled with adventurers. Only once in a long while was there a discovery of a nugget of much value. Before the end of 1850 San Francisco had fifteen thousand inhabitants, and at the close of 1852 the population in the territory was more than a quarter of a million.

General Jackson died in the first summer of Polk's administration. He died at his home, "The Hermitage," in Tennessee. Ex-President John Quincy Adams died at the city of Washington. He was paralyzed in the house of representatives.

In 1848 Wisconsin was admitted into the union with a population of two hundred and fifty thousand.

Another presidential election was held and General Taylor was elected president and Millard Fillmore of New York vice-president.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION.

**P**RESIDENT TAYLOR was a Virginian by birth and a soldier always. He had distinguished himself during the war of 1812. He bore a part in the Seminole war, but his greatest achievement was in subduing Mexico. His administration began with the agitation of the slavery question in the territories. He advised California to become a State. A constitution was framed prohibiting slavery, submitted to the people and adopted. Peter H. Burnet was elected governor of the territory and on December 29th, 1849, the new government was organized at San Jose. There was great controversy about the admission of California as a state, and then among the opponents and sustainers of slavery. Before the controversies were over President Taylor died on the 9th of July, 1850.

Fillmore at once took the oath of office and entered upon the duties of president. A new cabinet was formed with Daniel Webster as secretary of state.

In 1852 there was trouble again with England about the fisheries of Newfoundland. In 1854 it was settled by negotiation, and the right of Americans to take fish from the bays in possession of the British was conceded. Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, came to America in behalf of his country in 1852. He was kindly received and listened to, but the policy of

the United States forbade the interference of the government in behalf of the Hungarian patriots.

In March, 1850, John C. Calhoun died at the age of sixty-eight. He was much lamented. The president died in July. Henry Clay died the 28th of June, 1852, and Daniel Webster on the 24th of the following October.

Edward Everett was invited to become secretary of state and accepted. The next president was Franklin Pierce ; William King of Alabama vice-president.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

**F**RANKLIN PIERCE was from New Hampshire, a graduate of Bowdoin college. He was a statesman of considerable ability. Mr. King, the vice-president, was in Cuba at the time of his election. He returned to fulfill his duties, but became so ill that he had to retire to his home in Alabama, where he died in April, 1853, and William L. Marcy of New York finished his unexpired term.

In 1853 a corps of engineers were sent out to explore a railroad route to the Pacific and the same year commerce was opened with Japan. Before this the Japanese ports had been closed to all Christian nations. It was through Commodore Perry that the treaty was made, and on the very day of the Commodore's introduction to the emperor the Crystal Palace of New York was opened for *The World's Fair*. The palace was built of iron and glass. Specimens of arts and manufactures of all countries were on exhibition. This display was of great educational advantage to Americans.

In January, 1854, Senator Douglas of Illinois brought in a proposition to organize Kansas and Nebraska. In the bill was a clause providing that the people of these territories *should decide for themselves whether the states should be free or slaveholding*. For five months this bill was debated and finally passed, and then pandemonium was the result, and it became the issue in the presidential election of 1856. James Buchanan was elected president and John C. Breckinridge vice-president.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

JAMES BUCHANAN was a native of Pennsylvania, born in 1791. In 1831 he was appointed minister to Russia and afterward senator of the United States and secretary of state under President Polk. In 1853 he received the appointment of minister to Great Britain. General Lewis Cass of Michigan was made secretary of state under Buchanan.

The 5th of August, 1858, was noted for the completion of the first *submarine telegraph across the Atlantic*. The success of this work was due Cyrus W. Field of New York. The cable was stretched from Trinity bay, Newfoundland, to Valentia bay, Ireland, and telegraphic communication was established between Europe and America.

Minnesota became a state in 1858 with a population of a hundred and fifty thousand, and a year later Oregon was admitted with a population of forty-eight thousand.

The slavery question was still a vexation. The Abolitionists of the North would manage to secrete and send to a place of security any poor black man or woman that called on them. How this was done was a mystery at the time. In many a cellar was a secret room in which a slave could be hidden until the way for him to go on was opened. Runaway slaves were often hunted with blood hounds. In 1857 the supreme

court of the United States, after hearing the case of Dred Scott, formerly a slave, decided *that negroes are not and cannot become citizens*. Now in several of the free states personal liberty bills were passed to defeat the fugitive slave law. In the fall of 1859 twenty-one daring men of Kansas, led by John Brown, captured the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and held it two days. The national troops were called out to quell the revolt. Of Brown's men thirteen were killed, two escaped, and John Brown and six men were captured. The leader and his six companions were tried by the authorities of Virginia, condemned and hanged. After this the Kansas Free Soil party gained ground so rapidly as to make it certain that it would *not* be a slave state. Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the presidency by the Republican party in 1860. The great principle of this party was *opposition to slavery*. The Democratic convention assembled at Charleston, but the Southern delegates withdrew from the assembly. The rest adjourned to Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas for president. The Democracy of the South reassembled in June and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The American party nominated John Bell of Tennessee. Abraham Lincoln was elected president, but prior to the election a large number of the senators and representatives in congress were advocates of disunion, and it had been declared that should Lincoln be elected it would be just cause for the disruption of the union. The president was not a disunionist, but said he had no constitutional power to prevent secession by force.

The interval that elapsed between the election of

Lincoln and his inauguration was thought a fitting one for the disruption. South Carolina took the lead. A convention met on the 17th of December, 1860, at Charleston and after a session of three days passed a resolution that the union hitherto existing between South Carolina and the other states was dissolved. The sentiment of disunion gained ground so fast that by the first of February, 1861, six other states—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas—had all passed ordinances of secession. Nearly all the senators and representatives of the South resigned their seats in congress and gave themselves to the cause of disunion. It is quite true that in the secession conventions there were statesmen that pronounced the disunion as bad and ruinous. In the Georgia convention Alexander H. Stephens (afterward vice-president of the Confederacy) undertook to prevent the secession of his state. He delivered a powerful oration in which he pronounced the measure as *impolitic, unwise, disastrous*.

Delegates from six of the seceded states assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 4th of February, 1861, and formed a new government called the *Confederate States of America*. On the 8th the government was organized by the election of Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as provisional president, and Alexander H. Stephens as vice-president. Previous to this a peace convention had met at Washington and proposed certain amendments to the constitution, but congress paid little attention to it, and the conference adjourned.

The army was on the far frontier; the fleet on far off seas. Ruin seemed to stare the country in the face,



and the president felt to the utmost his responsibility. Forts Sumter, Moultrie, Pickens and Monroe were in possession of the United States. All the important ports in the South were already in possession of the seceded states. The president sent the *Star of the West* to reinforce Fort Sumter, but the ship was fired on by a battery and driven away from Charleston. And so with trouble on every side Buchanan's administration closed and Lincoln's began.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### LINCOLN AND THE REBELLION.

**A** BRAHAM LINCOLN was a native of Kentucky, ushered into the world February 12th, 1809. His parents removed to southern Indiana when he was only seven years old. He was very poor and he worked hard, getting his education by the light of pine knots and studying much without any teacher. His stepmother was a noble woman, with limited education herself, but who assisted him in every way she could. On arriving at manhood he removed to Illinois, where he became a distinguished lawyer, and he gained a national reputation in 1858 when, as the competitor of Stephen A. Douglas, he canvassed Illinois for the United States senate.

The new cabinet was organized with William H. Seward of New York as secretary of state; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio secretary of the treasury; and Simon Cameron secretary of war, who was soon succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton. Gideon Welles was secretary of the navy. In his inaugural address his policy was indicated. He declared his purpose to repossess the forts and property which had been seized by the Confederates.

The seceded states made an effort (on the 12th of March) to obtain a recognition of their independence, which failed. It was after this that the government made another attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter. Fort



AGRICULTURAL BUILDING.

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893.



Sumter was commanded by Major Robert Anderson with seventy-nine men. Confederate volunteers flocked to Charleston and batteries were built about the harbor. The Confederate authorities determined to anticipate the movements of the government by compelling the surrender of Anderson. General Beauregard was commandant of Charleston. On the 11th of April the general sent a flag to Sumter demanding an evacuation. Major Anderson replied that he should defend the fortress. The next morning the first gun was fired from the Confederate battery. A bombardment of thirty-four hours' duration followed. The fort was obliged to capitulate. The honors of war were granted to Anderson and his men. Three days after the fall of Sumter the president issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve three months in the overthrow of the secession movement. It was but two days later until Virginia seceded. Arkansas went also on the 6th of May and North Carolina followed on the 20th. Tennessee was almost evenly divided, but the disunionists succeeded, yet the secession ordinance was not passed until the 8th of June. Civil war resulted in Missouri. Kentucky authorities issued a proclamation of neutrality. The people of Maryland were divided into hostile parties. The Massachusetts volunteers, passing through Baltimore, were fired upon by the citizens and three men killed. This was the first blood drawn. The day previous, however, a body of Confederate soldiers captured the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and another company obtained possession of the great navy yard at Norfolk on the 20th. The captured

property amounted to fully ten millions of dollars, and it was feared that Washington city would be taken.

On May 3rd the president issued a call for eighty-three thousand soldiers, to serve for three years or during the war. General Winfield Scott was made commander-in-chief. War ships were sent to blockade the Southern ports. The Southern congress adjourned from Montgomery. The next meeting place was Richmond and the time July 2nd. Mr. Davis met *here the officers of his cabinet.*

It is said that one of the first causes of secession was, strangely enough, *the invention of the cotton gin.* In the year of 1793 Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, went to Georgia and resided in the family of Mrs. Greene, widow of General Greene. Mr. Whitney's attention was called to the tedious process of picking cotton by hand. The labor was so great that there was really no profit in the upland cultivation. Mr. Whitney invented a gin which astonished all beholders, and from being profitless cotton became the most profitable of all the staples. It has been estimated that Whitney's gin added a thousand million of dollars to the revenues of the Southern states. Slave labor grew in demand just in proportion as cotton growing was profitable. and so slavery to slave holders assumed a deep importance.

Another and probably the greatest cause of the disruption was the *different construction put upon the constitution by the people of the North and the South.* One party believed that the union of the states is indissoluble; that the states are subordinate to the central government; that the

acts of congress are binding on the states ; and that all attempts at nullification and disunion are disloyal and treasonable. The other party held that the national constitution is a compact between sovereign states ; that for certain reasons the union may be dissolved : that the sovereignty of the nation belongs to the individual states ; that a state may annul an act of congress ; that the highest allegiance of a citizen is due to his own state, and that nullification and disunion are justifiable and honorable. With these different views there could be nothing but war to settle the question.

Away back in 1820-21 threats of dissolving the union were freely made in both the North and the South. During the Missouri agitation, when the Missouri compromise was enacted, it was the hope of Mr. Clay and his fellow statesmen to save the union by removing the slavery question from the politics of the country.

Another cause of the war was the want of intercourse between the people of the North and the South. The great railroad traffic was from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Between the North and South there was no interchange of opinion. Then, too, the eastern states had given themselves to manufacturing largely. The Southerners depended on agriculture. When the high tariff was on the manufacturers reaped the benefit : the Southerners complained that it interfered with their interests.

And no doubt the publication of sectional books did much to foster the animosity already kindled, for since 1840 many books were published exclusively for certain sections—books intended for Northern trade were

written exposing and dilating upon the ridiculous side of life in the South, and for the Southern trade Yankeedom was shown in the worst possible light. Then, too, while there were bad men who owned slaves and abused and mistreated them the majority of slaveholders were kind and looked after their wants just as mothers look after their little children, but these people did not get into these books.

At this time *the good of the union* was forgotten in the schemes and ambitions of political leaders. In order to gain power many unprincipled men in the South were anxious to *destroy* the union, while men of the same character in the North were willing to *abuse* the union for the same purpose. Then there was a very strong feeling in the North that slavery itself was very wicked and had a demoralizing effect on the people.

Fortress Monroe was held by twelve thousand men under General B. F. Butler. At Bethel church in that vicinity was stationed a detachment of Confederates. On the 24th of May the Union army crossed the Potomac from Washington to Alexandria and on the 10th a body of Union soldiers was sent to drive them away, but Colonel Magruder repulsed them with considerable loss. Very late in May General T. A. Morris moved forward from Parkersburg to Grafton, West Virginia. On the 3rd of June he defeated a force of Confederates at Philippi. General George B. McClellan took command and on the 11th of July gained a victory at Rich Mountain. General Garnett with Confederate forces fell back to Carrick's Ford on Cheat river, where he was defeated and lost his life.



On the 10th of August General Floyd with a detachment of Confederates at Carnifex Ferry, on Gauley river, was attacked by General William S. Rosecrans and obliged to retreat. On the 14th of September the Confederates under General Robert E. Lee were beaten in an engagement at Cheat Mountain. Early the next June General Robert Patterson marched against Harper's Ferry. On the 11th of the month a division commanded by Colonel Lewis Wallace was successful in an engagement at Romney. Patterson then crossed the Potomac and pressed back the Confederate forces to Winchester. The main body of the Confederates under General Beauregard was concentrated at Manassas Junction, twenty-seven miles west of Alexandria. Another large force commanded by Colonel Joseph E. Johnston was in the Shenandoah valley. The Union army at Alexandria was under command of General Irwin McDowell, while General Patterson was stationed in front of Johnston. On the 16th of July the National army moved forward and on the morning of the 21st came upon the Confederate army between Bull Run and Manassas Junction. A battle of great severity ensued, lasting until noonday. At the crisis General Johnston arrived with nearly six thousand fresh troops from the Shenandoah valley, and very soon McDowell's army was hurled back in rout and confusion into the defences of Washington. The Union loss in killed, wounded and prisoners amounted to two thousand nine hundred and fifty-two; the Confederate loss two thousand and fifty.

On July 2nd the new Confederate government was

organized at Richmond. Jefferson Davis, the president, had already served in both houses of the national congress and as a member of Pierce's cabinet. He possessed great decision of character, and already quite a reputation as a soldier. Added to all this, he was a man of wide experience.

And now the scene of war was changed to Missouri. At a convention called by the governor the previous March the ordinance of secession could not be passed, but the disunionists were many and strong, and the state became a battle field. In many cases brother fought brother. Confederate and Federal camps were organized. The Confederates were fortunate early in the war by capturing the United States arsenal at Liberty. They obtained a supply of arms and ammunition and by the formation of Camp Jackson near St. Louis the arsenal in that city was in a precarious place. However, by the vigilance of Captain Nathaniel Lyon the arms and stores were sent to Springfield. Troops came from Arkansas and from Texas to secure the lead mines in the south-west part of the state, and it behooved the Union troops to be up and doing. So on June 17th Captain Lyon defeated Governor Jackson at Booneville, and on the 5th of July the Unionists, led by Colonel Franz Sigel, were a second time successful. This was at Carthage. On August 10th a hard battle was fought at Wilson's creek near Springfield. General Lyon was killed, and his men retreated.

General Price now hurried north to Lexington, which was defended by two thousand six hundred Federals commanded by Colonel Mulligan, who held the place

persistently, but was forced to capitulate. On the 16th of October Lexington again fell into the hands of the Federals, General Fremont following the retreating Confederates as far as Springfield, and here he was superseded by General Hunter. The latter retreated to St. Louis and Price fell back toward Arkansas.

Though Kentucky had declared her neutrality, the Confederate General Polk entered the state and captured the town of Columbus. The Confederates in great numbers gathered at Belmont on the opposite shore of the Mississippi.

And now General Ulysses S. Grant with three thousand Illinois troops was ordered into Missouri. He made a successful attack on the Confederate camp at Belmont, but was not able to keep it. Troops had been gathering at Washington ever since the battle of Manassas. General Scott had grown old and was retired, and General McClellan took command of the Army of the Potomac. By October his forces numbered a hundred and fifty thousand men. On the 21st two thousand troops were transferred across the Potomac at Ball's Bluff. They were not properly supported and were attacked by a force under General Evans and driven to the river, their commander, Colonel Baker, killed, and the whole force routed, with a loss of eight hundred men.

Commodore Stringham and General Benjamin F. Butler took command of a naval expedition to the coast of North Carolina and on the 24th of August captured the forts at Hatteras Inlet, and on the 7th of November an armament under Commodore Dupont

and General Thomas W. Sherman captured Forts Walker and Beauregard. The blockade was now so rigorous that communication with foreign countries was cut off.

And yet in these dark days the Southern aristocracy still kept up. The Southern ladies wore many a time gowns of unbleached muslin, and I have heard it said by eye witnesses that in the halls or parlors lighted with candles the effect was so like velvet that only the initiated knew the material. Doubtless to this the beauty of cheese cloth became known, and the ingenuity which helped these people to keep appearances of comfort and elegance when the land was desolated would be a book worth reading.

The Confederate government appointed as ambassadors to France and England John M. Mason and John Slidell. The envoys escaped the blockade and reached Havana in safety, where they took passage on the British steamer *Trent* for Europe. But on the 8th of November the vessel was overtaken by the United States frigate *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes. The *Trent* was hailed and boarded; the two ambassadors were seized, transferred to the *San Jacinto* and carried to Boston. When the *Trent* reached England and the story had been told all England was stirred up as it had been at the time of the Boston Tea Party. Had the United States defended Captain Wilkes, a war with England would have inevitably followed; and to the diplomacy of William H. Seward we are indebted for the preservation of peace. Great Britain demanded reparation for the insult and the release of the prisoners. He replied in a very able and

at the same time cautious manner. It was conceded that the seizure of Mason and Slidell was not justifiable according to the law of nations. An apology for the wrong done was offered, and the ambassadors liberated and sent to England on a United States vessel. This ended the first year of the civil war.

At the commencement of the year 1862 the United States forces were about four hundred and fifty thousand men. Two hundred thousand were under command of General McClellan, encamped near Washington. General Buell commanded another division stationed near Louisville, Kentucky. Colonel Humphrey Marshall, commanding a Confederate force on Big Sandy river, had a battle with Federal soldiers under command of James A. Garfield, colonel. The Confederates were defeated. Ten days later a battle of importance occurred at Mill Spring, Kentucky. The Confederates, commanded by Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer, were severely defeated by the forces of General George H. Thomas. General Zollicoffer was killed in the battle. General Halleck had planned at the beginning of the year the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland. Commodore Foote was sent up the Tennessee with a fleet of gunboats, and General Grant was ordered to move forward against Fort Henry. Before the land forces reached that place the flotilla compelled the evacuation of the fort, the Confederates escaping to Donelson.

The Federal gunboats now dropped down the Tennessee and then went up the Cumberland. Grant pressed on from Fort Henry, and began the siege of

Fort Donelson. General Buckner manned the defences with ten thousand Confederates. General Grant's force was about thirty thousand. On the 16th of February Buckner surrendered. His army became prisoners of war, and all the magazines, stores and guns of the fort became the property of the United States.

General Grant took his forces up the Tennessee to Pittsburg landing. The camp was at Shiloh church, near the river. On the 6th of April a large Confederate force commanded by Generals Johnston and Beauregard charged the camp. A terrific battle ensued in which the loss on either side was estimated at ten thousand in killed, wounded and missing. General Johnston was killed and Beauregard retreated to Corinth.

The Confederates after leaving Columbus, Kentucky, fortified themselves at Island Number Ten in the Mississippi, opposite New Madrid. General Pope with a body of western troops advanced on Number Ten, while Commodore Foote descended the Mississippi with his gunboats. Pope captured New Madrid, and Island Number Ten was besieged for twenty-three days. On the 7th of April the Confederates attempted to escape, but Pope had cut off the retreat. The garrison was captured and it numbered five thousand.

The fleet of Commodore Davis captured Memphis on the 6th of June. Quite early in the year General Curtis had taken his command into Arkansas and had encamped his forces at Pea Ridge in the mountains. The 6th of March he was attacked by twenty thousand Confederates and Indians commanded by Generals

McCulloch, McIntosh and Pike. The battle continued for two days and was hard fought. General Curtis was victorious. McCulloch and McIntosh were killed and the Confederates retreated in the direction of Texas.

After the navy yard at Norfolk had been destroyed the Confederates had the *Merrimac* raised (one of the sunken ships) and the sides plated with iron, and then sent to attack the Union fleet at Fortress Monroe. The *Merrimac* reached her destination on the 8th of March, and immediately commenced her work of havoc. The two valuable vessels, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, were sent to the bottom. During the ensuing night the *Monitor*, invented by Captain John Ericsson, arrived from New York and the next morning the two iron-clads faced each other. The battle lasted five hours and then the *Merrimac* was so disabled that she was obliged to put back to Norfolk for repairs. A Federal squadron commanded by General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough attacked the Confederate fortifications on Roanoke island. The garrison, nearly three thousand strong, were taken prisoners, and General Burnside proceeded against Newbern and captured the city on the 14th of March. He kept on southward till he reached the harbor of Beaufort, and on the 25th of April took possession of that place also. Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Savannah surrendered to General Gilmore on the 11th of the month, and a powerful squadron early in April, commanded by General Butler and Admiral Farragut, went up the Mississippi and attacked Forts Jackson and St. Philip, thirty miles

above the gulf. The fight commenced on the 18th and on the sixth day afterwards the admiral succeeded in running past the batteries. The next day he reached New Orleans and captured the city. General Butler became commandant and the fortifications were manned by fifteen thousand Union soldiers. In all the history of New Orleans this year is marked without sickness—due to the excellent sanitary condition maintained by General Butler.

On the 28th Forts Jackson and St. Philip surrendered to Admiral Porter, and while this was going on at the South the Confederates were invading Kentucky in two strong divisions, one led by Colonel Kirby Smith and the other by General Bragg. On the 30th of August Smith's army reached Richmond and attacked the Union forces stationed there. Smith was victorious and the Union loss heavy. Lexington next succumbed and then Frankfort, and Cincinnati owes her escape to General Wallace. General Bragg with his army was coming up from Chattanooga, and on September 17th captured a detachment of four thousand five hundred men at Mumfordsville. The Confederate general pressed on to Louisville, and had it not been for General Buell that would have fallen into his hands. Buell's army now numbered a hundred thousand men. In October he left Louisville and overtook General Bragg at Perryville. There was a sharp, but indecisive battle, and the Confederates, carrying a supply of spoils with them, retreated into east Tennessee. On September 19th there was a hard battle between Generals Rosecrans and Grant commanding Union forces and General



Price of the Confederates. General Price was defeated, losing a thousand prisoners besides the killed and wounded. General Grant with part of the Federal forces marched to Jackson, Tennessee, and General Rosecrans with twenty thousand men took a position at Corinth. Generals Van Dorn and Price turned about to recapture Corinth, but after two days' fighting they were repulsed. General Grant in the meantime moved forward to co-operate with General Sherman in an effort to capture Vicksburg. On the 10th of December General Van Dorn cut off General Grant's supplies at Holly Springs, and so obliged him to retreat. On the same day General Sherman dropped down the river from Memphis to the Yazoo, and on the 29th he made an attack on the Confederates at Chickasaw Bayou, which was unsuccessful and very disastrous to the Union forces, who lost in killed, wounded and taken prisoners more than three thousand men.

General Rosecrans was now transferred to the Army of the Cumberland, with headquarters at Nashville. General Bragg, when he retired from Kentucky, had taken his forces to Murfreesborough. Rosecrans with his forces set out for Stone river, when Bragg's forces were near Murfreesborough. On the next morning a furious battle was fought, only ending when night descended. During the night Rosecrans rallied his soldiers and at daybreak they were ready to renew the conflict, but Bragg's army was not ready. The 2nd of January, however, Bragg's army rushed to the onset. At first they were successful, but then the tide of battle turned and they were

driven back with heavy losses. Bragg withdrew towards Chattanooga.

In Virginia the Shenandoah valley was the first scene of war in that year. General Banks was sent forward with a strong division and the last of March (1862) occupied the town of Harrisburg. Stonewall Jackson with twenty thousand men was sent to cut off Banks' retreat. At Front Royal the Confederates fell upon the Federals, routed them and captured their guns and stores. General Banks, however, succeeded in getting his main division to Strasburg and escaping out of the valley. Jackson was now in peril, General Fremont having been sent into the valley to cut off his retreat. Jackson, however, succeeded in reaching Cross Keys before Fremont could attack him, and the engagement was so ineffectual that Jackson pressed on to Fort Republic, where he attacked and defeated General Shields.

It was on the 10th of March when the Army of the Potomac broke their camp and set out for the Confederate capital. The advance proceeded to Manassas Junction, where McClellan, changing his plan, sent a hundred and twenty thousand of his men to Fortress Monroe. From that place on the 4th of April the Union army advanced to Yorktown, which was defended by ten thousand Confederates under General Magruder. And here the advance remained for a month. Yorktown was taken on the 4th of May, and the Federal army pressed forward to West Point at the junction of the Mattaponi and Pamunkey. McClellan reached the Chickahominy without serious resistance and crossed at Bottom's Bridge. General

Wool, commandant of Fortress Monroe, led an expedition against Norfolk and captured the town. The day following the iron-clad *Virginia* was blown up to save her from capture. The James river was now opened for the supply transports of the Army of the Potomac. On the 31st of May that army was attacked by the Confederates at a place called Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines. The battle was waged with fury for two days. Then the Confederates were driven back, but McClellan's victory was not a decisive one. General Joseph E. Johnston, commander-in-chief of the Confederate army, was severely wounded, and General Robert E. Lee became commandant. McClellan formed a plan of retiring to a point below Richmond, but before the movement was fairly begun General Lee struck the right wing of the Union forces at Oak Grove and a hard fought battle was the result. The day following an engagement followed at Mechanicsville, and the Federals won the day. The next morning Lee renewed the struggle at Gaines' Mill and was victorious. On the 28th McClellan's army was attacked at Savage's Station and later in the White Oak swamp. The Confederates were kept at bay. On the 30th occurred the desperate battle of Glendale on Frazier's farm. On that night the Federals reached Malvern Hill, twelve miles below Richmond. General Lee determined to carry the place by storm and on the morning of July 1st the entire Confederate army rushed forward to the assault. And all the long day they struggled for possession of the high ground, and for *seven days* without cessation the roar of musketry and thunder of cannon never ceased. Gen-

eral McClellan retired with his army to Harrison's landing, a few miles down the river. The Federal army had lost more than fifteen thousand men, and the Confederate loss was still greater. General Lee then formed the plan of taking the Federal capital. The Union troops between Richmond and Washington were under command of General John Pope. Lee moved northward, and on the 20th of August Pope retreated beyond the Rappahannock, and General Banks was attacked by Stonewall Jackson at Cedar Mountain, where only the most vigorous fighting saved the Federals their position. Jackson hurried by with his division on a flank movement to Manassas Junction, where he made large captures. Pope threw his army between the two Confederate armies. On August 28th and 29th there was a fearful battle on the same field where the first Bull Run battle had occurred. Pope's reinforcements were withheld by General Porter and on the 31st the Confederates struck the Union army at Chantilly, winning a great victory. Generals Stevens and Kearney, men of courage and ability, were killed in this battle. Pope withdrew his mutilated army to Washington with all the speed possible.

General Lee by crossing the Potomac at the Point of Rocks was enabled to capture Frederick on the 6th of September. Hagerstown succumbed the 10th, and on the 15th Stonewall Jackson seized Harper's Ferry, with nearly twelve thousand prisoners. On the day previous there had been a hard fought battle at South Mountain. In this the Federals were victorious.

McClellan's army was now in the rear of Lee, who

fell back to Antietam creek and took up an important position near Sharpsburg. Then followed two days of skirmishing, terminating on the 7th with one of the decisive battles. Lee withdrew his forces and recrossed the Potomac.

McClellan moved to Rectorstown, Virginia, where he was superseded by General Burnside, who changed the plan of the campaign and advanced to Fredericksburg. Again the two armies faced each other. Burnside's movement was delayed and it was not until the 12th day of December that a passage could be effected. By this delay the Confederates had opportunity to fortify the heights south of the river and were enabled to do vast damage to the Union forces. This ended 1862.

On the day after the battle of Malvern Hill President Lincoln issued a call for *three hundred thousand troops*. During Pope's retreat from Malvern Hill he had made another call for *three hundred thousand*, and to that was added a draft for *three hundred thousand more*. Most of the demands were promptly met, and it now became evident that the resources of the South were inferior to those of the North.

January 1st, 1863, the president issued the emancipation proclamation. Now when the war was begun it was not for the purpose of emancipation, but to prove the sovereignty of the union. During the years of the war the sentiment of abolition of slavery had grown rapidly, "and when it became a military necessity to strike a blow at the labor system of the South the step was taken with little opposition." Slavery had existed two hundred and forty-four years in America.

General Sherman despatched an expedition early in January to take Arkansas Post on the Arkansas river. The Union forces reached their destination on the 10th of the month, fought a battle with the Confederates and won the day. The garrison surrendered nearly five thousand prisoners. Very soon the union forces were gathered together for the storming of Vicksburg. General Grant spent three months among the bayous around Vicksburg in the hope of getting a position in the rear of the town. Canals were begun and washed away by floods. At length it was determined to run the fleet past the Vicksburg batteries. On the night of the 16th the boats dropped down the river. The batteries poured out shot and shell, but the swift steamers were soon out of range and were but little hurt. General Grant marched his land forces down to form a junction with the squadron. May 1st he defeated the Confederates at Port Gibson. The evacuation of the Grand Gulf came next. The Union army now swept round to the rear of Vicksburg. On the 12th of May a Confederate force was defeated at Raymond. On the 14th a battle near Jackson resulted in a Union victory. General Pemberton, commander of Confederate forces, sallied forth with his forces from Vicksburg, was defeated by Grant on the 16th at Champion Hills and on the 17th at Black River bridge. Pemberton then retreated inside the defences of Vicksburg. And now the city was besieged. Grant made an attack on it the 19th of May and was repulsed with a terrible loss. The siege went on and Admiral Porter bombarded the town incessantly. Reinforcements came to Grant, but the city held out

until July 4th, when Pemberton was driven to surrender. The defenders of Vicksburg, numbering thirty thousand, were made prisoners of war. Thousands of small arms, hundreds of cannon and vast quantities of ammunition were the spoils of Grant.

General Banks had during this time been conducting a campaign on the lower Mississippi. From Baton Rouge he advanced to Brashear City, and gained a victory over the Confederates at Bayou Teche. He then besieged Fort Hudson (the last on the river held by Confederates), and the garrison, containing six thousand men who made a gallant fight, were made prisoners of war on the 8th of July.

The raid of Colonel Benjamin Grierson with the sixth Illinois cavalry occurred before the siege of Vicksburg. He started from La Grange, Tennessee, traveled over Mississippi to the east of Jackson, cut the railroads, destroyed the property, and after a rapid course of eight hundred miles reached Baton Rouge. Late in the spring Colonel Streight's command went into Georgia, but were surrounded and captured by General Forrest.

It was late in June when General Rosecrans succeeded in crowding General Bragg out of Tennessee, and then Rosecrans took post at Chattanooga on the left bank of the Tennessee. Later in the summer Bragg was reinforced by Johnston and Longstreet. On the 19th of September General Bragg turned on the Federals at Chickamauga creek, in the northwest angle of Georgia. A hard battle was fought, but the night came before it was decided. At daylight the fight was renewed. After the conflict had continued

for some hours the national battle line was opened by a mistake of General Wood. Bragg quickly thrust a heavy column into the gap, cut the Union army in two and routed the right wing. General Thomas desperately held the left until nightfall and then withdrew to Chattanooga. The Union loss was nineteen thousand and the Confederates lost even more. Bragg then pressed forward to Chattanooga. General Hooker, arriving with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, opened the Tennessee and the danger for the time was over.

General Grant now succeeded Thomas at Chattanooga, and General Sherman arriving with his division, offensive operations were at once renewed on the 24th of November. Lookout Mountain (occupied by the Confederates) was stormed by the division under General Hooker. The next day Missionary Ridge was carried and Bragg's army fell back to Ringgold. Burnside arrived at Knoxville with his command on the 20th of November. The Confederates attempted to carry the town by storm, but were defeated. General Longstreet made the charge and he then retreated to Virginia. Early in 1863 the Confederates resumed activity in Arkansas and northern Missouri, and on the 8th of January they attacked Springfield, Illinois, but were repulsed. Three days later a battle was fought at Hartsville with like results. The 26th of April General Marmaduke attacked the post at Cape Girardeau, but the garrison drove the Confederate army away. July 4th General Holmes made an attack on the Federals at Helena, Arkansas, but was repulsed. On the 13th of



August Lawrence, Kansas, was sacked and a hundred and forty persons killed by a band of desperadoes led by Chieftain Quantrell. On the 10th of September General Steele with Federal soldiers captured Little Rock, Arkansas.

It was in the summer of this year that the Confederate General Morgan made his famous raid through Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio. He was finally captured near New Lisbon by a detachment of General Shackleford, and imprisoned. After four months, however, he escaped and made his way back to Richmond. On January 1st, 1863, General Magruder captured Galveston, Texas, and by this means the Confederates secured a port of entry in the southwest. On the 7th of April, 1863, Admiral Dupont with a fleet of iron-clads attempted to capture Charleston, but was driven back. In June she was besieged by a large land force under General Q. A. Gillmore, assisted by Admiral Dahlgren's fleet. When the bombardment had continued some time General Gillmore on July 18th attempted to carry Fort Wagner by assault, but was severely repulsed. The siege progressed until the 6th of September, when the Confederates abandoned the fort and sought shelter in Charleston. Gillmore turned his guns on the wharves and buildings in the lower part of the city, but Charleston still held out, and the real gain of the Federals was a complete blockade.

General Burnside (after his repulse at Fredericksburg) had been superseded by General Joseph Hooker, who late in May crossed the Rappahannock and reached Chancellorsville. Here on the morning of

the 2nd of May he was attacked by Lee and Jackson, commanding the Army of Northern Virginia. Jackson at the head of twenty-five thousand men outflanked the Union army, burst upon the right wing and swept the very earth, but as the night came on the general received a volley from *his own soldiers* and spoke no more. The battle was renewed on the 3rd. General Sedgwick was defeated and driven across the Rappahannock. The main army lay between Chancellorsville and the river in a narrow space. On the 5th General Hooker succeeded in withdrawing his forces to the north bank. The Union losses were seventeen thousand, the Confederates about twelve thousand. The cavalry raid of General Stoneman came next. He crossed the Rappahannock with ten thousand men, tore up the Virginia Central railroad, cut General Lee's communications, swept within a few miles of Richmond and back across the river in safety.

General Lee now thought to take the war into the North. Early in June he crossed the Potomac and captured Hagerstown, Maryland ; on the 22d he entered Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and passed on through Carlisle to within a few miles of Harrisburg. The militia was called out, and volunteers poured in from other states. General Hooker pushed forward. General Lee concentrated his forces at Gettysburg. There the two armies met, each numbering about eighty thousand. Just on the eve of battle the command of the Union forces was transferred to General Meade, who took a position on the hills surrounding Gettysburg, and the armies stood face to face. The conflict began the 1st day of July and for three days raged

with terrible fury. The victory was with the Army of the United States, and Lee hurried back into Virginia. The Confederate loss was nearly thirty thousand, the Federal loss twenty-three thousand six hundred and eighty-six.

The Union army returned to the Potomac. A little later West Virginia was separated from the old dominion and became the thirty-fifth state in the Union.

Early in February, 1864, General Sherman moved from Vicksburg to Meridian. In this region the railroad tracks had been torn up for a hundred and fifty miles. At Meridian General Sherman expected a force of Federal cavalry which had been sent out from Memphis under General Smith. The latter advanced into Mississippi, but was met by the cavalry of Forrest and turned back to Memphis. General Sherman retraced his steps to Vicksburg. Forrest continued his raid to Paducah, Kentucky, and made an assault on Fort Anderson, but was repulsed with a severe loss. Turning back into Tennessee, he came upon Fort Pillow on the Mississippi and took it by storm.

In the spring of 1864 General Banks undertook the Red River expedition. The object was to take Shreveport, the seat of the Confederate government of Louisiana. The Federal advance captured Fort de Russy the 14th of March. The Confederates retreated to Alexandria, and on the 16th that place was taken by the Federals, and three days later Natchitoches was captured. The fleet now proceeded up the stream toward Shreveport and the land forces marched

to the left. At Mansfield on the 8th of April the advancing Federals were attacked by the Confederates and completely routed, and at Pleasant Hill the next day the main army suffered defeat. The flotilla now descended the river towards Shreveport. The whole expedition returned rapidly to the Mississippi. Meantime General Steele had advanced from Little Rock to aid in taking Shreveport, but learning of the Federal defeat he withdrew after some severe engagements.

On the 2nd of March, 1864, General Grant was appointed commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States. *Seven hundred thousand soldiers* were at his command. Two great campaigns were planned for this year. The Army of the Potomac under General Meade and the commander-in-chief was to advance to Richmond. General Sherman with a hundred thousand men was to march from Chattanooga to Atlanta.

On the 7th of May the Sherman forces moved. At Dalton he turned Johnston's flank and obliged him to fall back to Resaca. After two hard battles on the 14th and 15th Dalton was carried, the Confederates retreating to Dallas, where Johnston made a second stand on the 28th, but was again outflanked and compelled to flee to Lost Mountain. He was driven from this position on the 17th of June. He next made a stand at Great and Little Kenesaw mountains. From this line on the 22nd of June the division of General Hood made a desperate attack, but only to be repulsed with heavy losses. Five days later General Sherman attempted to carry Great Kenesaw by storm, but

there was a serious repulse. Sherman resumed his former tactics, and on the 3d of July compelled his antagonist to retreat across the Chattahoochee, and by the 10th of July the whole Confederate army of the South had retired to Atlanta. This city was at once besieged. It was the stronghold of the South. Here were the machine shops, foundries and car works of the Confederacy. At the beginning of the siege General Johnston was superseded by General Hood. The latter on the 20th, 22nd and 28th of July made three assaults on the Union lines, and was repulsed with heavy loss. General James B. McPherson was killed in the battle of the 22nd. For more than a month the siege was steadfast. At last Hood was obliged to evacuate Atlanta, and the Union army marched into the captured city.

General Hood, marching northward toward Tennessee, went through northern Alabama and crossed the river at Florence and advanced on Nashville. In the meantime General Thomas had been detached from Sherman's army and sent north to confront Hood. General Schofield, commanding the army in Tennessee, fell back before the Confederates and took a position at Franklin, and here on the 30th of November he was attacked by Hood's legions, and held in check till nightfall, when he retreated within the defenses at Nashville. All General Thomas' force was here concentrated. Hood came on confident of victory and prepared to begin the siege, but before he had made scarce a beginning General Thomas fell upon the Confederate army and routed it with a loss of more than twenty-five thousand men. Hood's

retreat was followed until they reached Alabama.

The 14th of November General Sherman burned Atlanta and began his *march to the sea*. His army numbered sixty thousand men. He cut his communications with the North, abandoned his base of supplies and started for the coast, two hundred and fifty miles away. His army passed through Macon and Milledgeville, crossed the Ogeechee, captured Gibson and Waynesborough, and on the 10th of December arrived near Savannah. On the 13th Fort McAllister was taken by storm. On the night of the 20th General Hardee, the Confederate commandant, escaped from Savannah and retreated to Charleston. On the 22nd General Sherman's headquarters were in Savannah.

January, 1865, was spent by the Union army at Savannah. On February 1st Sherman took up the march to Columbia, South Carolina. There were not sufficient Confederates to make him trouble. On the same night Hardee, having destroyed the public property of Charleston, kindled fires which laid in ashes four squares and then ran away. The next morning the National forces entered. From Charleston General Sherman marched into North Carolina and on March 11th captured Fayetteville.

General Johnston was now recalled to the command of the Southern army, and he began to oppose the march of the powerful army. At Averasborough on Cape Fear river General Hardee made a stand, but was repulsed. General Johnston's army attacked the Union forces on March 19th when they were approaching Bentonville, and for a while the Union forces were in danger, but hard fighting won the day,

and on the 21st Sherman entered Goldsborough, where he was reinforced by Generals Schofield and Terry. The Federal army turned to the north-west and on April 13th entered Raleigh. Here on the 22nd of April General Johnston formally surrendered his army to General Sherman.

During this war on land Admiral Farragut bore down on the defences of Mobile, which consisted of a monster iron-clad (the *Tennessee*) and Confederate fleet. Farragut managed to run past Forts Morgan and Gaines into the harbor, and it is related that in order to direct the movements of his vessels he mounted to the main top of the *Hartford*, lashed himself to the rigging, and from that lofty place gave out orders during the battle. One of his ships struck a torpedo and sank. The rest dispersed the Confederate squadron, but just as it seemed the day was won the *Tennessee* came down upon the *Hartford*. The Union ships closed around her and battered her with fifteen inch bolts of iron until she surrendered. Next came the capture of Fort Fisher, at the entrance of Cape Fear river. In December Admiral Porter was sent with a large squadron to besiege and take the fort. General Butler, commanding six thousand and five hundred men, accompanied the expedition. The troops went ashore on the 24th to storm the works, but General Weitzel, who led, came near enough to reconnoitre and decided that an assault would not carry the fort. General Butler was of the same opinion, so the enterprise was abandoned. Early in January the siege was renewed and on the 15th Fort Fisher was taken by storm.

During the war much damage was done by the Confederate iron-clad ship. Lieutenant Cushing with a number of volunteers on board a small steamer entered the Roanoke and saw an immense iron ram, the *Albemarle*, lying in Plymouth harbor. Very cautiously he approached and placed a torpedo beneath it. The ship was blown to pieces and all of Lieutenant Cushing's men but one were lost also. The *Savannah* was the first ship sent out. She was captured the day she escaped from Charleston. In June of 1861 the *Sumter*, commanded by Captain Semmes, ran the blockade at New Orleans and did tremendous execution with Union merchant ships. But in February, 1862, Semmes was chased into the harbor of Gibraltar, where he sold his vessel. The *Nashville* ran out of Charleston and returned with a cargo worth several million of dollars. In March, 1863, she was sunk by a Union iron-clad in the Savannah river. When the Union vessels had blockaded all the Southern ports the Confederates built their monster cruisers in English ship yards. The *Florida* was built in Liverpool harbor, and she succeeded in getting into Mobile bay. She destroyed fifteen merchantmen before she was captured and sunk in Hampton Roads. The *Georgia*, *Olustee*, *Shenandoah* and *Chickamauga*, all built at the ship yards of Glasgow, Scotland, worked ruin to many a merchant ship of the United States. The *Alabama*, built at Liverpool, was the most destructive of all Confederate ships. She destroyed sixty-six ships, whose valuation with cargoes was more than ten millions of dollars. She was commanded



Captain Semmes, who before that had commanded the *Sumter*. In the whole career of the *Alabama* she never entered a *Confederate port*. The *Alabama* was caught in the harbor of Cherbourg, France, by Captain Winslow, commander of the steamer *Kearsarge*. June 19th Semmes went out of the harbor to give his antagonist battle. The fight for an hour was desperate, and then the *Alabama* was sunk. Semmes was picked up by the English *Deerhound* and carried to England.

The night of May 3rd, 1864, the National camp at Culpepper was broken and the march to Richmond was begun. The first day of the advance Grant crossed the Rapidan and entered the wilderness, a forest of thickets and oaks. He was immediately attacked by the Confederate army. The fighting was incessant during the 5th, 6th and 7th of the month. There were terrible losses on both sides, but nothing decisive. Grant then made a flank movement in the direction of Spottsylvania Court House, and here from the 9th to the 12th followed the bitterest struggle of the war. The Federals gained some ground. They captured General Stewart's division. The losses of the Confederates was less than the Nationals. Grant now moved to the left, crossed the Pamunkey and came to Cold Harbor, twelve miles northwest of Richmond. Here he attacked the Confederates on the 1st of June, but was repulsed with serious losses. On the morning of the 3rd the assault was renewed and in thirty minutes nearly ten thousand Union soldiers were killed or wounded before the Confederate trenches. The Federals lines never wavered, however. General

Grant now changed his base to James river. General Butler had already taken City Point and the Bermuda Hundred. On the 15th of June Butler was joined by the whole of Grant's army. The combined forces moved forward and began the siege of Petersburg.

In the Shenandoah valley very important movements were going on. As soon as Grant moved from the Rapidan, General Sigel marched up the valley to New Market, where he met and was defeated by the Confederate cavalry under General Breckinridge, who after the victory returned to Richmond. The Federals, perceiving his course, turned about, overtook the Confederates at Piedmont, and gained a signal victory, and from there Generals Hunter and Averill advanced against Lynchburg, and so the valley was again opened to invasion.

Lee dispatched General Early to cross the Blue Ridge, invade Maryland and threaten Washington city. Early at once began the march with twenty thousand men, and on July 5th crossed the Potomac. On the 9th he defeated the division of General Wallace on the Monocacy, but this battle saved Washington and Baltimore from capture. General Wright with his command followed close upon Early as far as Winchester. There Early wheeled upon Wright and the Union troops were forced to cross the Potomac. Early marched to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, which he burned.

General Grant now gave General Philip H. Sheridan command of the army of the upper Potomac. The troops placed at his disposal were about forty thousand. On the 19th of September Sheridan marched

upon Early at Winchester and routed him by hard fighting. On the 22d he gained another victory at Fisher's Hill. Sheridan turned the attention of his troops to devastating the valley and soon there was nothing worth fighting about between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies. Maddened by his defeats, Early rallied his forces and again entered the valley. Sheridan, having posted his men on Cedar Creek, felt secure in leaving the army and going to Washington. On the 19th of October Early surprised the camp, captured the artillery, and sent the routed soldiers in great confusion to Winchester. The Confederates pursued as far as Middletown, and there paused to eat and rest. On the previous night Sheridan had returned to Winchester, and was now coming to rejoin his army. He rode (as Jehu might have done under the circumstances) twelve miles, rallied the fugitives, and gained one of the most distinguished victories of the war, Early's army being completely ruined.

All through the fall and winter the siege of Petersburg still went on. The 30th of July a mine was exploded under one of the forts, but the assaulting company were repulsed forcibly. A division of the Union army seized the Weldon railroad and held it against several assaults. This was on the 18th of August. Battery Harrison was stormed by the Federals September 28th, and on the next day General Paine's brigade carried the redoubt on Spring Hill. On the 27th of October Boydton road was the scene of another battle, which ended the campaign, the army going into winter quarters.

Sheridan gained a victory over Early on the 27th of

February and then joined the commander-in-chief. A severe battle was fought April 1st at Five Forks. The Confederates were defeated with a loss of six thousand prisoners. The next day Grant ordered a general assault on the lines of Petersburg and the place was carried. On that night Lee and the Confederate government shook off the dust of Richmond. The next morning it was filled with Federal troops. The Confederates before leaving burned the warehouses and the best part of the city.

The Confederate army retreated as fast as possible to the southwest. At Deatonville, when hard pressed by the pursuing army, they did turn and fight. The pursuit was kept up for five days, and then Lee was brought to bay at Appomatox court house. It was the 9th of April, 1865, when the Army of North Virginia surrendered and the Confederacy was no more.

General Grant gave Lee and his army the most liberal terms known in war. Federal authority was speedily established in the South. Mr. Davis and his cabinet escaped to Danville, and for a few days kept up the form of government. From Danville they fled into North Carolina. The ex-president continued his flight into Georgia, and encamped near Irwinsville, where he fell into the hands of General Wilson's cavalry on May 10th. He was taken to Fortress Monroe and confined until May, 1867, when he was carried to Richmond to be tried for treason. He was admitted to bail and the case dismissed.

At the election in 1864 President Lincoln was re-elected. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was elected





vice president. Nebraska came into the union, the thirty-sixth state. The gold and silver mines of Nevada now exceeded those of California. The New York quotations of gold were on January 1st, 152; April 1st, 166½; July 1st, 245; October 1st, 191½ to 193½. The market price of middling upland cotton in New York on January 1st, 1864, was 81 to 82 cents; on April 1st, 76 cents; on July 1st, \$1.50 to \$1.52; and on October 1st, \$1.15 to \$1.20.

In the year 1862 the expenses of the army averaged a million of dollars daily. This was greatly increased afterward, and to pay off the debt congress provided an internal revenue—made up from two sources—one on manufactures, salaries and incomes; the other a stamp on all legal documents. Then came the issue of legal tender notes of the United States used as money. These were the greenbacks. These notes were redeemable after certain times in specie. The third source of revenue was the sale of United States bonds. The interest on these were six per cent, payable in gold semi-annually. Then congress passed an act providing for the establishment of national banks. National bonds instead of gold and silver were used as a basis of the circulation of these banks, and the redemption of their bills was guaranteed by the treasury of the United States. The lowest denomination of paper money (then vulgarly called shin-plasters) was three cents.

At that time everything was high. In the North good calico, such as sells for 8 cents in 1892, cost 75 cents per yard; bleached muslin or shirting sometimes cost 80 cents; white sugar of the quality known as

coffee A was 75 cents per pound. Goods of all kinds were much more expensive. I have seen a little pink calico gown made from seven yards of material that cost three hundred dollars in Confederate money.

During the war the national debt had reached nearly *three thousand millions of dollars*. President Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1865. On the evening of the 14th of April the president with his wife and a party of friends attended Ford's theatre in Washington. As the play neared the close John Wilkes Booth, a degenerate son of the great actor, slipped into the president's box and shot him through the upper part of the head. The president became unconscious until morning, when his sufferings were ended. The tragic death just after peace had been declared filled the whole North with the deepest sorrow. The bells that had not ceased to ring the joyful news of peace now tolled their grief from the Atlantic to the Pacific. No loyal man or woman was so poor that a badge of mourning fastened somewhere on the house did not tell of the heartache inside. Cities were draped with black for thirty days. Lincoln, like Washington, was universally beloved. While the assassination was going on in the theater another murderer, Lewis Payne Powell, burst into the chamber of Secretary Seward, sprang upon the bed where the sick old man lay, and stabbed him. The news was quickly spread, and the city thoroughly alarmed. Troops of cavalry departed in all directions to hunt down the assassins. Booth was found on the 26th of April hidden in a barn near Fredericksburg. He refused to surrender



and was shot by Sergeant Boston Corbett. Powell was caught and hung. David E. Harrold and George A. Atzerott and Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, at whose house the plot was laid, were condemned and executed. Michael O'Laughlin, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd and Samuel Arnold were sentenced to imprisonment for life and Edward Spangler for six years.

The funeral and procession to Springfield, Illinois was the most imposing of any recorded in the history of the world. The embalmed body resting in the coffin was placed on a magnificent catafalque in the green room of the White House nearly filled with flowers. The exercises took place in the east room, Rev. Drs. Hall, Gurley and Gray and Bishop Simpson officiating. The throng of dignitaries was such as had never been gathered together under one roof before. When the services were concluded the casket was placed in the hearse and conveyed slowly along Pennsylvania avenue. Mournful dirges changed to a requiem as they reached the Capitol and were responded to by minute guns from the fortifications. The body was borne into the rotunda and the religious exercises completed by Dr. Gurley, and then all that was mortal of the beloved president, guarded by his tried and true veterans, lay in state. Thousands of people came to take a last look, and on the morrow began the long, long journey. It was the 21st of April when the cortege left Washington. It was the 4th of May when "ashes to ashes, dust to dust," was repeated as they laid him down to the long rest God gives his beloved.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

**A**NDREW JOHNSON became president on the day after the assassination. He was born in 1800 and was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina. He had no educational advantages in his boyhood. He removed to Greenville, Tennessee, in 1828. He was a tailor by trade. His wife had some educational advantages, and she taught him to read and write, and then he grew to "love learning for learning's sake." He soon rose to distinction and was sent to congress. As a member of the United States senate in 1860-61 he opposed secession to his utmost. In 1862 he was appointed military governor of Tennessee. This office he held until elected vice-president.

On the 29th of May the amnesty proclamation was issued by the president. By its provisions "a pardon was extended to all persons (except those specified in certain classes) who had taken part in upholding the Confederacy."

During the summer of 1865 the great armies were discharged and the soldiers returned to their homes. The war debt was increasing so rapidly (interest counts so fast when it gets into the hundred millions) that the *yearly interest* grew to a *hundred and thirty-three millions in gold*. Government expenses were two

hundred millions yearly. But the national revenues were sufficient and the debt shrank very fast.

Napoleon III, the nephew of his illustrious uncle, had during the civil war set up a little empire of his own in Mexico. In 1864 the Mexican crown was conferred on Maximilian of Austria, very little above an imbecile, who sustained his authority by French and Austrian soldiers. The Mexican president Juarez headed a revolution. The government of the United States feared not to rebuke France. Napoleon went home with his army and Maximilian was forced to flee to Queretaro, where he was besieged and taken prisoner. He was tried and condemned to be shot and the sentence executed on the 19th of June, 1867.

On March 30th a treaty was signed by the plenipotentiary of the emperor of Russia and the president of the United States, the ratification of which by the respective powers were exchanged on the 20th of June following. By this treaty the tract of land known as Russian America was ceded to the United States for the consideration of the sum of seven million two hundred thousand dollars. This territory is now known as Alaska. Its area is estimated at five hundred thousand square miles, with a *coast line greater than that of the United States on the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico.*

The Cincinnati suspension bridge across the Ohio river connecting Covington with Cincinnati was completed and opened for travel this year (1867). In the summer and autumn New Orleans and other cities in the southwest were scourged with yellow fever. On the 23rd of January, 1868, the East river between New

York and Brooklyn was bridged over with ice and the number of people who crossed the temporary bridge was estimated at five thousand. The price of gold this year ranged between 133 and 143, very little fluctuation. The export of tobacco in this year was 184,803,005 pounds. The Atlantic telegraph cable after a few weeks could not be managed successfully. But Mr. Field continued to advocate the practical utility of it and he crossed the ocean fifty times trying to get sufficient capital to lay another cable. The work was begun from the coast of Ireland in the summer of 1865, but the cable parted and was lost. In July a third cable two thousand miles in length was carried on board the *Great Eastern* and again the great work was commenced, and this time successfully completed. Congress had a gold medal struck for him and as a public benefactor his name will live forever.

It was only a short time after the beginning of President Johnson's administration when a disagreement arose between congress and the president. This difficulty was about the reorganization of the Southern states. The disputed point was the relations these states had sustained to the union during the civil war. The president held that the ordinances of secession were null and void, and that the *seceded states had not been out of the union*. The majority in congress held that secession was illegal and unconstitutional, but that these states had been detached from the union, and that special legislation was necessary to restore them to their former relation. The president commenced measures of reconstruction in 1865. On the

9th of May a proclamation was issued for receiving Virginia again into the union. A provisional government was established over South Carolina on the 29th of the same month, and measures very similar were adopted for the remaining Southern states. All restrictions on trade and commerce with the Southern states were removed on June 24th. A second amnesty proclamation was issued on the 7th of September, by which all persons who had upheld the Confederate cause excepting the leaders were unconditionally pardoned. Meanwhile Tennessee had been reorganized and restored to the Union in 1866.

A committee of fifteen members was appointed at the following meeting of congress to which all questions were referred concerning the reorganization of the Southern states. In accordance with measures reported by this committee Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina were reconstructed and in June and July of 1868 readmitted to the union. The civil rights bill in the meantime had been passed in congress. This gave all the rights and privileges of citizens to the freedmen of the South. It was passed *over the veto of the president*, who was opposed to both bills.

Then another difficulty arose which led to his impeachment. He had notified Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, of his dismissal from office on February 21st, 1868. This was believed by congress to be a usurpation of authority and a violation of law. Articles of impeachment were agreed to by the house of representatives on March 3rd and the president was summoned before the senate for trial, which was con-

tinued for nearly two months and ended in acquittal. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase of Ohio presided during the trial.

The time for another election was at hand and General Ulysses S. Grant was nominated by the Republican party, and Horatio Seymour of New York by the Democrats. The canvass was an animated one. General Grant was elected by a large majority and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana vice-president.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

### GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE eighteenth president was born in Ohio and at the age of seventeen entered West Point and was graduated in 1843. He served with distinction during the Mexican war, but the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson won him a national reputation. In March, 1864, he was appointed lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the Union army.

The Pacific railroad was the first great event in the new administration. Congress authorized the formation of Wyoming territory and extended the laws of the United States to Alaska and formed that territory into one district. The president was given power to regulate the importation of arms, ammunition and spirits into Alaska, and the secretary of the treasury to regulate the fur trade and seal hunting there. The secretary of state announced that the fourteenth amendment of the constitution had been accepted by three-fourths of the states and was therefore part of the constitution. Early in 1869 the fifteenth amendment was adopted by congress providing that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. This clause was proclaimed a part of the constitution on March 30th, 1870. In the first three months of the same year the completion of reorganizing the remaining Southern states was announced.

In this year the ninth census of the United States was taken. Though so many thousands of men had been swept from the earth by the long war, the ten years that had elapsed had been a period of success and great growth. The population was now thirty-eight million five hundred and eighty-seven souls. The national debt was decreasing very fast. The products of the United States had grown tremendously. American manufactures were equalling those of Europe. There were thirty-eight states and eleven territories.

The year of 1871 was noted for the burning of Chicago. The area destroyed was two thousand one hundred acres. About two hundred lives were lost. In October there were very destructive fires in the north-west—Wisconsin, Central Minnesota and Michigan—towns, villages and forests all disappeared; nothing but the naked earth was left. The eve of another election drew near. The president's administration had been criticised.

Reconstruction had been unfavorably received in the South. The fifteenth amendment was not at all liked in the South and all the bitterness of the long war was not subdued, and on these issues there was a division of the people in the election of 1872. The Republicans renominated General Grant for president and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for vice-president. Horace Greeley was nominated by the Liberal Republicans and Democrats. He was a remarkable man, wise, just and good. He had been a leader of the people for thirty years as editor of the *New York Tribune*. The canvass was one of the most exciting



in our history. Mr. Greeley was overwhelmingly defeated, and according to nearly all political papers he who had been considered so wise before was now little better than a fool. It broke the old man's heart and he lived but thirty days afterward, *and then every newspaper in the land lauded him to the skies.* Such an uncertain thing is public opinion.

Boston was nearly burned on the 9th of November. The burnt district was in the best part of the city and covered an area of sixty-five acres. Eight hundred buildings and property to the amount of eighty millions was destroyed. Fifteen lives were lost.

In the spring of 1872 the Modocs were to be removed to a new reservation. They, however, decided to stay where they were, and it took a small army to make them reconsider their determination and cost the lives of several noble white men and some bad Indians.

In 1873 a difficulty arose in Louisiana which threatened the peace of the country and troops were twice despatched before everything became serene.

The credit mobilier investigation by congress was a **subject** over which the country was much agitated. It was a *gigantic steal* which reflected small credit on certain members of congress. Others had been drawn into it **without** understanding the nature of the transactions.

In the fall occurred one of the most disastrous financial panics known in America. The failure of Jay Cooke & Company of Philadelphia was the first, and then bank after bank failed until it seemed as though the only comfortably happy people were those who never had any money in any bank.

Many public men had fallen out of the ranks in the past few years—Edwin M. Stanton in December, 1869; General Robert E. Lee (president of the Washington and Lee university), 1870; and in the same year the two Union veterans General George H. Thomas and Admiral Farragut; in 1872 William H. Seward, Professor Morse (the inventor of telegraphy), Horace Greeley and General Meade. On May 7th, 1873, Chief Justice Chase suffered a stroke of paralysis and passed on, and on the 11th of March, 1874, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts; on the 31st of May, 1875, Andrew Jackson, ex-president of the United States; on the 22d of November following Vice-President Henry Wilson.

As the year 1876 approached the people were anxious to demonstrate the growth of the country and its marvellous resources. The city where freedom sprang into existence seemed the most fitting one for many reasons, and in it was held *the centennial of American independence*. In Fairmount park on the Schuylkill were erected beautiful buildings, and before the opening in May were filled with productions not only of America, but articles of art and beauty from almost every nation on the globe. The gate receipts amounted to more than three million seven hundred thousand dollars.

There was a war with the Sioux Indians the last year of Grant's administration. General Custer and all his command were destroyed and the battles were many after the loss of this brave general, but at length the savages were driven into the British territory, scornfully refusing all offers of peace.

About the 1st of August, 1876, Colorado entered the union, the thirty-eighth member. The population numbered forty-five thousand. Until 1850 Colorado had been a part of Kansas. In that year a convention was held in Denver and a district territorial government was organized.

The twenty-third presidential election was, as had been the previous one, a very exciting one. General Rutheford B. Hayes, of Ohio, was the choice of the Republican party and William A. Wheeler of New York vice-president. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, were the Democratic nominees. The independent Greenback party nominated Peter Cooper of New York and Samuel F. Cary of Ohio. The canvass was spirited from the beginning and began early, too. The contest lay between the Democrats and Republicans. The votes were counted and both parties claimed the victory. There were many reasons why the true vote could not be ascertained. There had been much irregularity in the elections in South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Oregon, and the power of congress over the electoral college was so ill-defined that no certain result could be announced. For the first time in the history of over a hundred years there were two presidents elect. The Democrats were so firmly of the opinion that Tilden *was* elected that they had rejoicings galore all over the land. But when congress convened in December the whole question came before that body. After many debates it was agreed that the election returns should be decided by a *joint high commission* consisting of five members chosen

from the senate, five from the house of representatives and five from the supreme court. The commission was constituted, the returns of the disputed states referred to the tribunal and the Republican candidates were declared elected. *One hundred and five* electoral votes were cast for Hayes and Wheeler and *one hundred and four* for Tilden and Hendricks.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### HAYES' ADMINISTRATION.

THE nineteenth president was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4th, 1822. His ancestors were revolutionary soldiers. He graduated from Kenyon college when twenty years of age. His legal studies were completed in 1845 and he began the practice of his profession first at Marietta, then at Fremont and later at Cincinnati as city solicitor. He arose to the distinction of major-general during the war and while still in the army was elected to congress in 1864. In 1867 he was elected governor of Ohio and was re-elected the following term and also in 1875. The policy of his administration was shown in his inaugural address. The conciliatory as well as patriotic sentiment had a peaceful effect on the bitter and almost turbulent spirit of partisanship which had so disturbed the country. The 8th of March the cabinet was formed—William M. Evarts of New York secretary of state, John Sherman of Ohio secretary of the treasury, George W. McCrary of Iowa secretary of war, Richard W. Thompson of Indiana secretary of the navy, Carl Schurz of Missouri secretary of the interior, David M. Key of Tennessee postmaster-general, Charles Devens of Massachusetts attorney-general. The nominations were duly ratified and the new administration commenced its duties.

In the summer of 1877 occurred the great railroad

strike. The managers of the leading railroads from coast to coast had declared a reduction of wages and this measure was violently resisted by the employes on the railroads. The men gathered their forces together at Baltimore and Martinsburg, West Virginia, so as to stop the passage of trains and defy officials. The militia was called out by Governor Matthews and sent to Martinsburg, but were soon sent home again by the strikers. Then the regulars came and the blockade was removed. But at Baltimore there was a terrible tumult and some shedding of blood. The strike became epidemic. Trains were stopped everywhere, business was destroyed. Pittsburgh was under mob law ruled by twenty thousand dangerous men. The union depot, all the machine shops and railroad buildings were destroyed. A hundred and twenty-five locomotives and two thousand five hundred cars laden with all kinds of valuable products were also destroyed. A riot similar, but not as large, occurred in Chicago, and the next was at St. Louis, and then San Francisco, Cincinnati, Columbus, Louisville, Indianapolis and Fort Wayne were in dread and danger, but escaped serious havoc.

The Nez Perces Indians of Idaho commenced depredations in 1877. A treaty had been made with them in 1806, and all had been peace with them until now. General Howard commanded the campaign and was exceedingly successful.

The first business telephone was put in operation in Boston this year. It was from the house of Charles Williams in Somerville to his business office, three

miles away. The instrument attached was patented by Alexander Graham Bell of Boston.

In the fall of 1877 the nation mourned the death of Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, a leader in the affairs of the nation. He was only fifty-four and died of paralysis.

The resumption of specie payments by the United States government was commenced January 1st, 1874. Only \$11,000,000 in greenbacks were presented for redemption that day, though it was known that the treasury contained \$138,000,000, mostly in gold coin, and when the people knew they could get gold for their greenbacks they did not want it—paper was so much more convenient.

A disastrous fire occurred in the town of Reno, Nevada, consuming a million dollars worth of property. On the 30th of May a tornado in parts of Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska did vast damage. The water was scooped from rivers and wells. The lives of more than forty persons were lost, and the injured were twice as many.

## CHAPTER L.

### GARFIELD AND ARTHUR ADMINISTRATIONS.

**A**T the presidential election of 1880 James A. Garfield was nominated by the Republican party, with Chester A. Arthur of New York as vice-president. General Winfield Scott Hancock and William H. English of Indiana were the Democratic nominees, Samuel Tilden declining to run. The electoral vote stood two hundred and fourteen for Garfield, and one hundred and fifty-five for Hancock. James A. Garfield, the twentieth president, was born November 19th, 1831, in Orange Woods, Cuyahoga county, Ohio. His parents were of New England ancestry and came from families well known in the early history of our country. They had moved to the Western Reserve in Ohio about the time it was opened.

Like many of our western presidents, his early education was limited. He was a graduate from Williams college in 1856, and was elected to the Ohio senate in 1859. When volunteers were called for he enlisted and received his commission as lieutenant-colonel of the forty-second Ohio volunteers. He showed so much ability in the management of his forces in driving Humphrey Marshall out of Kentucky, that President Lincoln commissioned him brigadier-general. As two years previous he had been the youngest man in the senate, so he was now



the youngest general in the army. At Chickamauga he won the stars of major-general.

He was elected to congress in 1862. It was a struggle for him to resign his position in the army. At the time he entered congress he was the youngest member. In January, 1880, General Garfield was elected to the United States senate. He was elected president in November of the same year, and inaugurated in March, 1881, and murdered while in the depot at Washington, July 1st, on his way to Williams college to meet his old friends. A cowardly assassin stepped behind him, put a revolver at his back and fired it. For eighty long, hot days he suffered. Death mercifully released him September 19th. The universal sorrow for this brilliant man, cut down when he had reached the highest office it was in the power of his country to bestow, was deep and more widespread than that of Lincoln; for peace had so long reigned that the bitter spirit which was felt soon after the war had passed away and the people of the South mingled their tears and prayers with those of the people of the North. Again a murdered president lay on a magnificent catafalque, whose base was a mass of floral offerings, and again the people came to gaze on the majesty of death. Again a long train of cars heavily draped bore a slain president on his last journey. Again were cities on the route draped in mourning and all along the route solemn dirges voiced the people's sorrow. They laid him to rest in the beautiful Lake View cemetery of Cleveland, Ohio.

Chester A. Arthur, vice-president of the United States, took the presidential oath on the night of

Garfield's death, first in the city of New York and on the 21st of September in the presence of the judges of the supreme court in the capital. He was the twenty-first president. He was born in Franklin county, Vermont, on the 5th of October, 1830. He was educated at Union college, Schenectady. General Arthur was a delegate to the convention at Saratoga that founded the Republican party. Before the war he was judge-advocate of the second brigade of the state militia of New York, and Governor Morgan of that state appointed him engineer-in-chief of his staff. In 1861 he became inspector-general and soon afterwards quartermaster-general, and it is said that in each of these offices he rendered great service during the war. He was appointed collector of the port of New York by President Grant.

Guiteau, the murderer of President Garfield, was arraigned in Washington. His trial lasted ten weeks. He was sentenced to be hanged and the sentence executed the 30th of June, 1882.

The town of New Ulm in Minnesota was struck by a cyclone on the 18th of July and more than a hundred houses demolished and thirty persons killed or seriously injured. Early in September serious forest fires began in eastern Michigan, spreading over Huron, Sanilac and Tuscola counties. Three hundred persons were burned to death and a vast amount of property was destroyed. The star route trials occurred this year—one of the most noted and political and criminal events in the history of the United State. After a six months' trial in court, and the whole prosecution lasting eighteen months, the jury acquitted Brady

and the Dorseys, to the amazement of all intelligent readers of the daily papers. In this year (1882) a law was passed excluding newly immigrated Chinese laborers from the United States, and requiring those already here to take out certificates in order, if they left the United States, to prove their identity when they returned. A strong law of this kind was enacted in 1879, but President Hayes vetoed it. Congress also passed the most effective anti-polygamy laws recorded on the statute books. It disenfranchised and rendered ineligible to office all polygamists. Senator Edmunds was the originator of the bill and it was named for him. In March of this year there was a tremendous overflow of the Mississippi. According to a report made to the secretary of war, eighty-five thousand persons were rendered destitute by the floods. The 18th of June was marked by a cyclone passing over the town of Grinnell, Iowa, and destroying half the town and killing more than one hundred persons. The year 1883 was marked by the opening of the East river bridge connecting Brooklyn with New York on the 24th of May. It is about six thousand feet long, including the approaches, and in summer the highest point of the arch is one hundred and thirty-five feet above the river. The stone towers on either side are two hundred and seventy-six feet and nine inches high, and the mass of masonry in which the wires are fastened stretches back nine hundred and thirty feet from the water. This bridge was designed by John A. Roebling, of Trenton, New Jersey, builder of the first suspension bridge at Niagara and many others. It is said that his wife assisted him greatly in his

plans and understood so thoroughly the work that she was enabled to carry on the work after his death, which occurred in 1869 from lockjaw.

The rate of postage for letters in America was reduced to two cents, and the transmission of money by postal note began in September. Congress reduced the tariff and removed nearly all of the remaining internal revenue tax. The Northern Pacific railroad was finished on August 22nd. The survivors of the Greely party were brought from the Arctic regions by a special relief expedition under Commodore Schley of the United States navy. In the summer of 1881 Lieutenant A. W. Greely, commanding a party of soldiers, was sent to Fort Conger, Lady Franklin bay, by the signal service of the United States. There were about a dozen such expeditions sent out at various circumpolar stations established by several countries for scientific observation for a year or two. Great difficulty was experienced in getting supplies to this expedition. The steam wheeler *Proteus*, under command of Lieutenant E. A. Garlington, was crushed in the ice and sank, the commander and crew barely escaping with their lives and suffering greatly before they reached the companion ship *Yantick*, which had been left at Upernavik. Commodore Schley found Greely and six companions alive. Two died on the homeward voyage. Eighteen were already dead.

In the presidential campaign of 1884 James G. Blaine, of Maine, and John A. Logan, of Illinois, were the candidates of the Republican party. Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana were

the Democratic nominees. The Southern issue was entirely ignored by the Republicans, who staked their all on the tariff. The election, however, was very close. Enough Republicans in New York state voted for Cleveland to give the balance in his favor. Out of *one million one hundred thousand* voters in New York Cleveland's plurality was *one thousand and forty-seven*. But as the election depended upon New York Cleveland was elected. He received the support of *every* Southern state, besides New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana. The electoral vote for Cleveland was two hundred and nineteen; for Blaine one hundred and eighty-two.

## CHAPTER LI.

### CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND was born in the little town of Caldwell, Essex county, New Jersey, in 1837. His father was a Presbyterian minister, who when Grover was three years old moved to Fayetteville on the Hudson river and Erie canal. Here he went to the village school for a time, afterwards going to the academy at Clinton. He studied law in the office of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers of Buffalo. He was elected mayor of that city in 1881 and governor of New York in 1882. He was nominated for president July 11th, 1884, in the Democratic convention at Chicago.

On the 4th of March, 1885, he took the oath of office and commenced his administration by appointing the following cabinet: Thomas F. Bayard, secretary of state; Daniel Manning, secretary of the treasury; secretary of war, William C. Endicott; secretary of the navy, William C. Whitney; secretary of the interior, L. Q. C. Lamar; postmaster-general, William F. Vilas; attorney-general, A. H. Garland.

At New Orleans in December, 1884, was opened a World's Fair which continued about six months. It was not so well attended as the centennial, and the exhibits were not equal to those of 1876. The main building was the largest of its kind ever built. Mexico, Central and South America sent many beautiful

exhibits. The machinery was set in motion by the president in Washington.

Among the prominent men who laid off their cares this year were ex-President and General Grant, who died July 23rd; Vice-President Hendricks, November 26th; William H. Vanderbilt (the Rothschild of America), December 8th.

Natural gas came into extensive use in Pennsylvania. In some other states it was searched for and now most of the wells are exhausted. The wells in Mercer county, Ohio, and those in central Indiana are still furnishing fuel to countless families, but from the experiences in Pennsylvania it is not to be relied upon as the fuel of the future. In August a West India hurricane visited Savannah and Charleston, destroying property worth \$500,000 near the former and \$1,500,000 in the latter. In 1886 occurred labor troubles which were more formidable in many respects than those of previous years. An organization of workingmen called the Knights of Labor was organized and very serious damage was done to the manufacturers by these Knights.

In this year France presented America with a magnificent statue, "*Liberty Enlightening the World*." It stands on a small island in the harbor of New York, but its grandeur is half destroyed by the low position. Could it be set on an eminence with only the sky behind it, the magnificent proportions would be appreciated. The height of the woman's figure is one hundred and fifty-one feet; the height of the pedestal is one hundred and fifty-four feet; and yet in approaching the harbor it has the appearance of stand-

ing too low. Auguste Bartholdi, the famous sculptor, was the designer.

Henry Ward Beecher, the world-famous preacher, minister of Plymouth church, Brooklyn, died March 8th at his home in Brooklyn. Lieutenant A. W. Greely, who commanded one of the circumpolar scientific expeditions in 1881-83, was made brigadier-general and chief signal officer in February, and placed at the head of the government signal service, previously under command of Albert J. Myer and William B. Hazen.

Two centennials fell within Cleveland's term of office. The first was September 15th, 1887, in commemoration of the adoption of the United States constitution. This was celebrated in Philadelphia. The second centennial commemorated the settlement of the Ohio valley. This was first celebrated at Marietta, the oldest town in the state, and afterward at Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati and other cities. The celebration in Cincinnati was during the time of the Cincinnati exposition. There a long hall was filled with articles that had been brought into the country at the settlement. Even a hundred-year-old house was taken to pieces and transported to the exposition and put together again. It was furnished as it had been originally and its principal ornament was the musket hung over the high fire-place. There were "silken gowns and satin shoon" that had been worn by gay belles in the time of Washington.

Again the time for the presidential election was at hand. Harrison was the choice of the Republicans and of the people. Cleveland was his opponent.



## CHAPTER LII.

### HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

**H**ARRISON was the twenty-third president of the United States. His grandfather, William Henry Harrison, had been the ninth. He came of a long line of distinguished people. The head of the family was a Major-General Harrison, one of Oliver Cromwell's trusted followers, and at the height of Cromwell's power it became the duty of Harrison to participate in the trial of Charles I and to sign his death warrant. But for this he paid with his life when Charles II came into power. His descendants came to America. And the next mention of the family is of Benjamin Harrison of Virginia (the great-grandfather of the twenty-third president), who was a member of the continental congress and one of the signers of the original constitution, and three times elected governor of Virginia.

President Harrison was born at North Bend, Hamilton county, Ohio, August 30th, 1853. He graduated from the Miami university at Oxford, Ohio, and went immediately to Cincinnati and began the study of law, which he continued for two years. In 1860 he was nominated for the position of supreme court reporter and then his influence as a stump speaker drew attention to him and he was elected by a handsome majority. In 1863 he raised the seventeenth Indiana infantry and was chosen colonel. This regiment was

composed of the rawest material and the colonel spent many weary hours teaching the "awkward brigade," and when he came to move towards the east with Sherman his regiment was one of the best drilled and organized in the army. His office was left vacant and another appointed to fill the vacancy. During the engagement at Resaca he distinguished himself and for bravery at Peach creek he was made brigadier-general. From 1862 to 1864 he had no leave of absence, but having received the nomination for the same office in 1864 he got leave of absence for a month, came home and stumped the state and was re-elected. On his way back to the seat of war he was stricken with scarlet fever and was not again able to take part until the very close of the war. Afterward he filled the office to which he had been elected and still later was elected governor of Indiana.

On March 4th, 1889, he took the oath of office standing on the portico of the capitol. There was a terrific rain storm, but as the grounds were filled with people anxious to hear him take the oath he did so, though the rain was blinding. He appointed James G. Blaine secretary of state; William Windom, secretary of the treasury; Redfield Proctor, secretary of war; W. H. H. Miller, attorney general; John Wannamaker, postmaster-general; Benjamin F. Tracy, secretary of the navy; John W. Noble, secretary of the interior; Jeremiah M. Rusk, secretary of agriculture.

Immediately after Harrison's inauguration he announced that the lands of Oklahoma would be opened at noon of April 22nd. Then began the mad rush for that region. Probably every state contributed its

quota, for on opening day there was a throng large enough to make two cities in one day—Guthrie and Oklahoma City. The territory was organized in May, 1890. Guthrie was made the capital. Six states were annexed to the union in two years—Washington, Montana, North and South Dakota were admitted in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming in 1890. In Wyoming women vote on the same conditions as men, and so far the elections have been carried on for *the good of the state* and not for political power. Idaho does not allow Mormons to vote or hold public office.

The centennial at New York was held April 29th and May 1st. It was a hundred years since Washington had been inaugurated as first president of the federal republic. Three days were devoted to a grand celebration in the city and harbor of New York. "President Harrison and his family were received by a guard of honor upon a barge of state at the point of the New Jersey coast where Washington embarked for New York in 1789." A grand naval review was held April 29th. Every ship in the harbor was gay with flags and pennons. Never before in this country had there been so beautiful a sight in any harbor. The next day there was a service at St. Paul's church, near where Washington had taken his official oath, followed by an oration and other appropriate exercises; then came a grand military parade and review. The first day of May was devoted to an interesting display of the improved industries of the country and a civic celebration.

It was but a month later when the great dam at Connemaugh lake gave way and the valley was

flooded. In some places the very earth was carried away. Johnstown, a city of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, was in the way of this torrent and the tremendous current cut for itself a path half a mile wide through the heart of the town. No pen has ever adequately described it. No tongue can tell the horrors. Whole families perished, and it was months before the drowned could be given the burial due to all creatures.

Two very important congresses met at Washington in the fall of 1889. One was the international maritime council, comprising delegates from twenty-six nations, called to decide upon a code of signals to be used at sea, the paths of ocean steamers, etc. Of still greater importance was the Pan-American conference, the object of this conference being to promote commercial intercourse among the countries of North and South America through a better understanding of each other's resources.

The fifty-first congress met December 2nd, 1889. The first important debate was on a new code of rules, designed to prevent the wilful obstruction of public business (the country having suffered so much from strikes in the past few years). Before this members who did not vote upon the question before the house had been considered as absent, and so in a full house it was often impossible to obtain a quorum for the transaction of business. Speaker Reed, of Maine, ruled in this session that all members present, whether voting or not, should be included in counting for a quorum; and after an exceedingly hot debate he was sustained by a large vote.

A new tariff known as the McKinley bill passed both houses in September and became a law October 1st, 1890. It admitted foreign sugar free of duty, but increased the rates on many other articles. Treaties, however, were afterwards made with Brazil and other South and Central American countries providing for a free interchange of food and other products with the United States.

An international copyright law *was passed after sixty years*, giving copyright protection to foreign authors of such nations as grant corresponding protection to American authors.

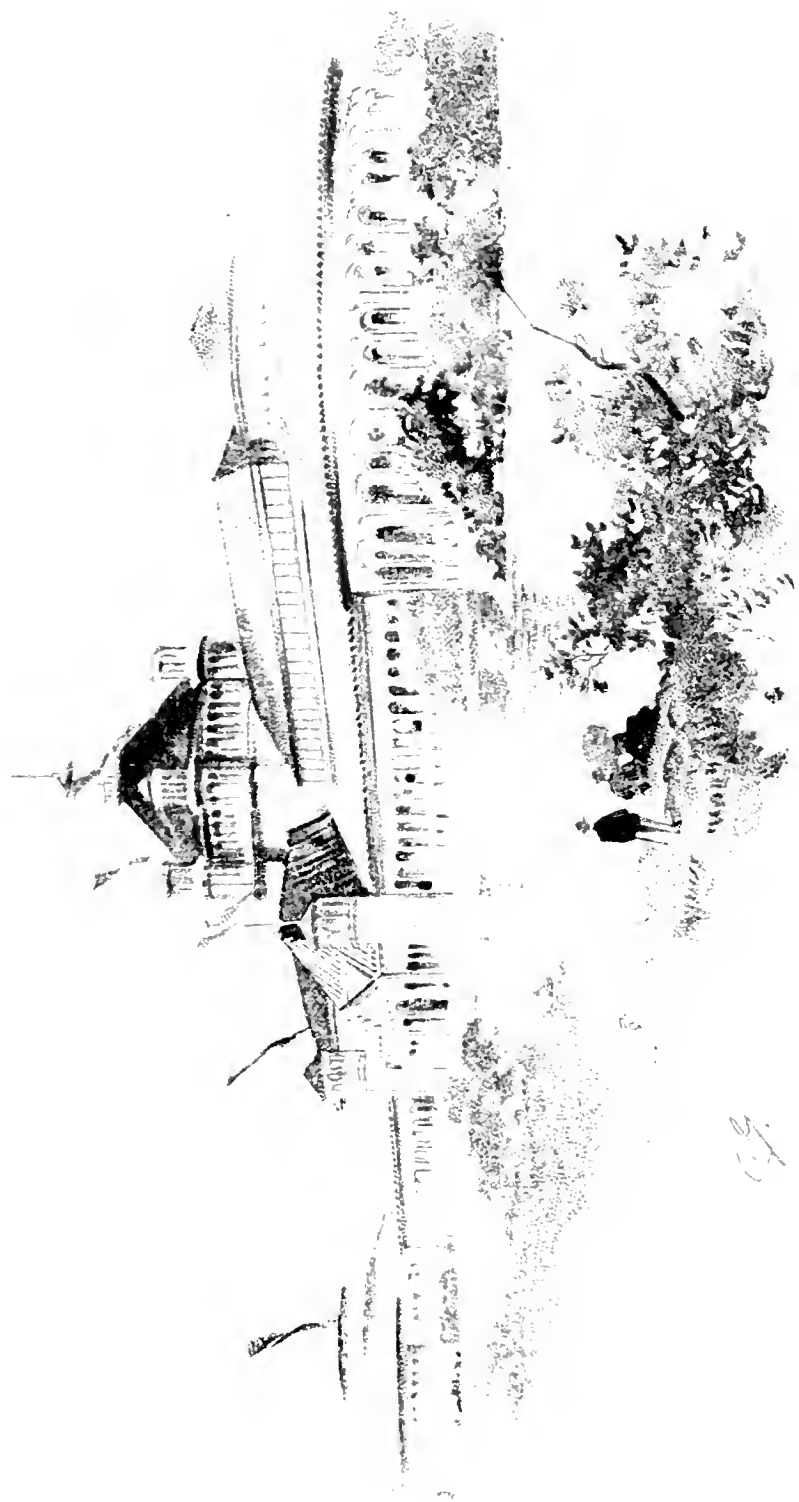
The pension list was extended to all men who after honorable service in the war should become incapable of support, whether injured while in service or not.

Another notable act of the fifty-first congress which decided a question that had been discussed for many years was that federal funds shall not be used in aid of common school education in the United States. But it was resolved to distribute ten millions of dollars during the next ten years for the better support of agricultural colleges and mechanical arts. Congress voted aid to a World's Columbian Exposition, to be held at Chicago, celebrating the four hundred and first anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

Another presidential election was approaching. The Republicans renominated Benjamin Harrison for president and Whitelaw Reid for vice-president. The Democratic convention nominated Grover Cleveland for president and Adlai Stevenson for vice-president. The latter ticket was elected by the largest majority

that has ever been received by a Democratic president.

During the winter of 1890-91, Mrs. Harrison suffered severely from "La Grippe." This was followed by bronchitis, which lasted several weeks, but seemed to leave no bad effects. In January, 1892, Mrs. Harrison again contracted a severe cold, though not sufficient to confine her to her room for any length of time; but in March came another attack of "La Grippe," followed by catarrhal pneumonia, but no alarm was felt by those near to her. After recovering from the pneumonia her cough grew worse and there was a hemorrhage which was the first danger signal. Everything that medical science knew was done to prolong her life, but she gradually sank and died October 25th in the White House. The president took no part in the campaign. He sat by the bedside of the woman he had loved from girlhood, for he became engaged to her while attending the college over which her father, Dr. Scott, presided. She was a beautiful woman, of rare attainments, and possessing marvellous taste. Many sorrows had come to the president's family during the occupancy of the White House. Mrs. Harrison's sister, Mrs. Scott Lord, died in December, 1889. The loss of Secretary Blaine's two children, Mrs. Coppinger and Mr. Walker Blaine, within a fortnight of each other was deeply felt by the president's family. The tragic death of Mr. Tracy and his daughter at the same time and the next winter the sudden death of Secretary Windom, in each instance occurring during the social season, has made the administration the most sad of any recorded.



FISHERIES AND AQUARIUM.

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893.





## CHAPTER LIII.

### COLUMBIAN DAYS.

FOR three days New York city was in gala dress all day and far into the night. Music was heard. The parade was immense. Children marched like veterans, and the Indian school children of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, outdistanced the pale-faces. They marched in a solid line and moved with a rythm surpassing all that preceded and all that followed. They were sturdy fellows, led by a band of their own school children, and followed by a hundred Indian maidens dressed like the boys in blue.

In Union Square two thousand girls belonging to Catholic churches, dressed in national colors, sat on a stand and sang national airs. To attempt to describe all that went on in these three days would take more space than we are allowed.

Tuesday was naval parade and the harbor was crowded as it never had been before. Ocean greyhounds, immense steamers, ships of all kinds dotted—nay, crowded—the harbor. The sight was of the gayest; no craft so small that it did not carry pennons and streamers and flags.

There was a grand parade and review of the ninth regiment on Fourteenth street and Union Square. But the parade of school boys, twenty-five thousand in line, marching in almost perfect order, eclipsed even the famous ninth. At night the scene about Madison Square and Fifth avenue was one never to be

forgotten by eye witnesses, so magnificent was the pageant of floats, the electric one dazzling the eyes of all beholders.

Columbian day at Chicago was observed by the opening of the most magnificent World's Fair buildings ever presented to a people. To say there were a hundred thousand visitors would naturally make one think of a throng; but in the vast main building it was still almost empty enough to awe one. The parade was magnificent. General Miles and staff rode at the head of the military procession. The Connecticut military guards were especially admired for their perfect drill. The foreign diplomats in the military parade was one of the especial features. Vice-President Morton dedicated the fair to the nations, the president being at the bedside of his dying wife. No words of mine could do justice to the scene—the grand expanse of blue lake in the foreground, the giant oaks that seemed a forest were it not for the broad boulevards and the throng. Is there anything that stirs the heart like the sight of the national colors, and the ears like national odes?

And here honor was accorded the women, to whose good taste much of the beauty was due. Mrs. John A. Logan, lady manager for the District of Columbia; Mrs. Potter Palmer, president of the board of lady managers, and Lady Somerset are included in the official photographs. The reviewing stand from which Vice-President Morton reviewed the civic parade was in front of the postoffice. The dedicatory services were in the manufacturers' building, exquisitely decorated for the occasion.

# THE NATIONAL PLATFORMS

OF ALL

## Political Parties from Commencement of the Government.

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The history of a nation is largely a history of politics, and a history of politics in a country like this is largely a history of parties, and a history of parties is incomplete without a history of the platforms of those parties.

In fact, the platforms of the political parties in the United States give the most perfect record of the progress of political thought of any history that could be written, and no history is really a complete record of the progress of the country without this important feature.

We therefore give in the following pages the platforms of the political parties from the time that platforms were first promulgated to the date of this volume.

### 1832.

No regular national nominating conventions were held till the campaign of 1832, when there were two, the Democratic and National Republican. Neither of these conventions adopted any platform, but at a ratification meeting held in Washington, May 11th, the Democrats adopted the following:

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Resolved, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

Resolved, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the general government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength and permanency of the republic.

Resolved, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrine lately boldly preached in the United States senate, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals and dangerous to the liberties of the country.

### 1836.

#### NATIONAL REPUBLICAN OR WHIG PARTY.

Held no national convention, but at a State convention in Albany, N. Y., February, 1836, adopted the following:

Resolved, That in support of our cause we invite all citizens opposed to Martin Van Buren and the Baltimore nominees.

Resolved, That Martin Van Buren, by intriguing with the executive to obtain his influence to elect him to the presidency, has set an example dangerous to our freedom and corrupting to our free institutions.

Resolved, That the support we render to William H. Harrison is by no means given to him solely on account of his brilliant and successful services as leader of our armies during the last war, but that in him we view also the man of high intellect, the stern patriot, uncontaminated by the machinery of hackneyed politicians—a man of the school of Washington.

Resolved, That in Francis Granger we recognize one of our most distinguished fellow citizens, whose talents we admire, whose patriotism we trust, and whose principles we sanction.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Held a national convention, but adopted no platform. The following was adopted in January, 1836, by the New York Democrats:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that the true foundation of Republican government is the equal rights

of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management; that the idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up our natural right; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us: that no man has the natural right to commit aggressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him: that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this they have fulfilled their functions.

We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency; hostility to any and all monopolies by legislation, because they are violations of equal rights of the people: hostility to the dangerous and unconstitutional creation of vested rights or prerogatives by legislation, because they are usurpations of the people's sovereign rights; no legislative or other authority in the body politic can rightfully, by charter or otherwise, exempt any man or body of men, in any case whatever, for trial by jury and the jurisdiction or operation of the laws which govern the community.

We hold that each and every law or act of incorporation passed by preceding legislatures can be rightfully altered and repealed by their successors: and that they should be altered or repealed when necessary for the public good, or when required by a majority of the people.

## 1840.

### WHIG PARTY.

Adopted no platform.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

1. Resolved, That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. Resolved, That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. Resolved, That the constitution does not confer author-

ity upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

6. Resolved, That congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. Resolved, That congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts by Abolitionists, or others, made to induce congress to interfere with questions of slavery or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith;

and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book.

Whereas, Several of the States which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the presidency have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for vice-president, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to the nomination: and, whereas, some of the said States are not represented in this convention; therefore,

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place their opinions will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a vice-president by the electoral college.

#### LIBERTY PARTY.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.

### 1844.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the platform of 1840 were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

10. Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

11. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the president the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and

which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the bank of the United States.

12. Resolved, That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

#### WHIG PARTY.

1. Resolved, That these principles may be summed as compromising a well-regulated national currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the presidency; a reform of executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well regulated and wise economy.

#### LIBERTY PARTY.

1. Resolved, That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle of true democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it, can be truly democratic or permanent.

2. Resolved, That the Liberty party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the general government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights among men, in every State where the party exists, or may exist.

3. Resolved, that the Liberty party has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American liberty, or the true spirit of the constitution of the United States.

4. Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of slavery; its first decided effort must, indeed, be directed against slaveholding as the



grossest and most revolting manifestation of despotism, but it will also carry out the principle of equal rights into all its practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

5. Resolved, That the Liberty party is not a sectional party, but a national party; was not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country; is not a new party, nor a third party, but it is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.

6. Resolved, That it was understood in the times of the Declaration and the constitution, that the existence of slavery in some of the States was in derogation of the principles of American liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country, and in the implied faith of the States and the nation was pledged that slavery should never be extended beyond its then existing limits, but should be gradually, and yet, at no distant day, wholly abolished by State authority.

7. Resolved, That the faith of the States and the nation thus pledged was most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the States; and by the adoption of the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory north-west of the river Ohio, then the only territory in the United States, and consequently the only territory subject in this respect to the control of congress, by which ordinance slavery was forever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the territory of Wisconsin, and an incapacity to bear up any other than freemen was impressed on the soil itself.

8. Resolved, That the faith of the States and the nation thus pledged has been shamefully violated by the omission, on the part of many of the States, to take any measures whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories of Louisiana and Florida; by the legislation of congress; by the protection afforded by national legislation and negotiation of slaveholding in American vessels, on the high seas, employed in the coast-wise slave traffic; and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits, by acts of congress admitting new slave States into the Union.

9. Resolved, That the fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by

their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of our national government, by that amendment of the constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

10. Resolved, That we recognize as sound the doctrine maintained by slaveholding jurists, that slavery is against natural rights, and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rests on no other support than State legislation, and not on any authority of congress.

11. Resolved, That the general government has under the constitution no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere, and therefore that all treaties and acts of congress establishing, continuing or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the territory of Florida, or on the high seas, are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive national jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.

12. Resolved, That the provisions of the constitution of the United States which confers extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave States a privileged aristocracy; and the provisions for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people and ought to be abrogated.

13. Resolved, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions is seen in the enactment of the act of congress respecting persons escaping from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the supreme court of the United States in the case of *Priggs vs. Pennsylvania* be correct, nullifies the habeas corpus acts of all the States, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought, therefore, to be immediately repealed.

14. Resolved, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extended to slavery and slaveholding by the general government ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.

15. Resolved, That the practice of the general government, which prevails in the slave States, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible and ought to be abandoned.

16. Resolved, That freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations and

laws, in derogation of either, are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people.

17. Resolved, That we regard voting, in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty, which when exercised should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.

18. Resolved, That this convention recommend to the friends of liberty in all those free States where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color, to employ their utmost energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

Whereas, The constitution of the United States is a series of agreements, covenants or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all, and all with each; and,

Whereas, It is a principle of universal morality that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of an Apostle, that "we ought to obey God rather than men;" and,

Whereas, The principle of common law—that any contract, covenant or agreement, to do an act derogatory to natural right, is vitiated and annulled by its inherent immorality—has been recognized by one of the justices of the supreme court of the United States, who in a recent case expressly holds that "any contract that rests upon such a basis is *void*;" and,

Whereas, The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution of the United States, when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave, does "rest upon such a basis," in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right—namely, his natural right to his own liberty—and is therefore absolutely *void*; therefore

19. Resolved, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood by this nation and the world that, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the laws of God, and our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to the sovereign ruler of the universe, as a proof of our allegiance to him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens or public functionaries sworn to support the constitution of the United States, to regard and to treat the third clause of the fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it.

20. Resolved, That the power given to congress by the constitution to provide for calling out the militia to suppress insurrection does not make it the duty of the government to maintain slavery by military force, much less does it make it the duty of the citizens to form a part of such military force; when freemen unsheathe the sword it should be to strike for liberty, not for despotism.

21. Resolved, That to preserve the peace of the citizens, and secure the blessings of freedom, the legislature of each of the free States ought to keep in force suitable statutes rendering it penal for any of its inhabitants to transport, or aid in transporting from such State, any person sought to be thus transported, merely because subject to the slave laws of any other State; this remnant of independence being accorded to the free States by the decision of the supreme court, in the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania.

## 1848.

### WHIG PARTY.

Adopted no platform at the convention, but at a ratification meeting held in Philadelphia, June 9, 1848, adopted the following:

1. Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, here assembled by their representatives, heartily ratify the nomination of General Zachary Taylor, as president, and Millard Fillmore, as vice-president, of the United States, and pledge themselves to their support.

2. Resolved, That in the choice of General Taylor as the Whig candidate for president we are glad to discover sympathy with a great popular sentiment throughout the nation—a sentiment which, having its origin in admiration of great military success, has been strengthened by the development, in every action and every word, of sound conservative opinions, and of true fidelity to the great example of former days and to the principles of the constitution as administered by its founders.

3. Resolved, That General Taylor, in saying that, had he voted in 1844, he would have voted the Whig ticket, gives us the assurance—and no better is needed from a consistent and truth-speaking man—that his heart was with us at the crisis of our political destiny when Henry Clay was our candidate, and when not only Whig principles were well defined and clearly asserted, but Whig measures depended upon success. The heart that was with us then is with us

now, and we have a soldier's word of honor, and a life of public and private virtue as the security.

4. Resolved, That we look on General Taylor's administration of the government as one conducive of peace, prosperity and union; of peace, because no one better knows, or has greater reason to deplore, what he has seen sadly on the field of victory, the horrors of war, and especially of a foreign and aggressive war; of prosperity, now more than ever needed to relieve the nation from a burden of debt and restore industry—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial—to its accustomed and peaceful functions and influences; of union, because we have a candidate whose very position as a Southwestern man, reared on the banks of the great stream whose tributaries, natural and artificial, embrace the whole Union, renders the protection of the interests of the whole country his first trust, and whose various duties in past life have been rendered not on the soil, or under the flag of any State or section, but over the wide frontier and under the broad banner of the nation.

5. Resolved, That standing, as the Whig party does, on the broad and firm platform of the constitution, braced up by all its inviolable and sacred guarantees and compromises, and cherished in the affections, because protective of the interests of the people, we are proud to have as the exponent of our opinions one who is pledged to construe it by the wise and generous rules which Washington applied to it, and who has said—and no Whig desires any other assurance—that he will make Washington's administration his model.

6. Resolved, That as Whigs and Americans we are proud to acknowledge our gratitude for the great military services, which, beginning at Palo Alto and ending at Buena Vista, first awakened the American people to a just estimate of him who is now our Whig candidate. In the discharge of a painful duty—for his march into the enemy's country was a reluctant one; in the command of regulars at one time, and volunteers at another, and of both combined; in the decisive though punctual discipline of his camp, where all respected and loved him; in the negotiations of terms for a dejected and desperate enemy; in the exigency of actual conflict when the balance was perilously doubtful—we have found him the same—brave, distinguished, and considerate, no heartless spectator of bloodshed, no trifler with human life or human happiness; and we do not know which to admire most, his heroism in withstanding the assaults of the enemy in the most hopeless fields of

Buena Vista—mourning in generous sorrow over the graves of Ringgold, of Clay, of Hardin—or in giving, in the heat of battle, terms of merciful capitulation to a vanquished foe at Monterey, and not being ashamed to avow that he did it to spare women and children, helpless infancy and more helpless age, against whom no American soldier wars. Such a military man, whose triumphs are neither remote nor doubtful, whose virtues these trials have tested, we are proud to make our candidate.

7. Resolved, That in support of this nomination we ask our Whig friends throughout the nation to unite to co-operate zealously, resolutely, with earnestness, in behalf of our candidate, whom calumny cannot reach, and with respectful demeanor to our adversaries, whose candidates have yet to prove their claims on the gratitude of the nation.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

1. Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will, and contrasted with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. Resolved, therefore, that entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates here assembled in general conventions of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the platform of 1840 were reaffirmed. (See Democratic platform of 1840, page 453).

8. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual, but cer-

tain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

Resolution 5 of the platform of 1840 was enlarged by the following:

And that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolutions 7, 8 and 9 of the platform of 1840 were here inserted. (See Democratic platform of 1840, page 454).

13. Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

14. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the president the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

15. Resolved, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insults and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and invading our sister State of Texas, and upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

16. Resolved, That we would be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration and to sustain the country in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

17. Resolved, That the officers and soldiers who have

carried the arms of their country into Mexico have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes and that more formidable enemy—the disease of the climate—exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country, and the admiration of the world.

18. Resolved, That the Democratic national convention of thirty States composing the American republic tender their fraternal congratulations to the national convention of the republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representative of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of Republicans, to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights, for which their LaFayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our national independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their councils, on the basis of a democratic constitution, not derived from the grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people in their sovereign capacity to make and to amend their forms of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

19. Resolved, That in view of the recent development of this grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people and their capacity and power for self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, equality, and fraternity by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

20. Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American minister at Paris, to the national convention of the republic of France.

21. Resolved, That the fruits of the great political



triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas president and vice-president of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a national bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of '42, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that in our opinion it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safe-guard of liberty.

22. Resolved, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulation upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him in advance that at the expiration of his presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement the esteem, respect and admiration of a grateful country.

23. Resolved, That this convention hereby present to the people of the United States, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of president, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for vice-president of the United States.

#### FREE SOIL PARTY.

(Composed of a branch of the Democratic party which opposed the extension of slavery into its territories, and the Liberty party.)

Whereas, We have assembled in convention as a union of freemen, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all political difference, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of

free labor against the aggression of the slave power and to secure free soil to a free people; and

Whereas, The political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia—the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability—have dissolved the national party organization heretofore existing, by nominating for the chief magistracy of the United States, under the slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a sacrifice of consistency, duty and self-respect; and

Whereas, These nominations so made furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of free democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the federal government from its control;

1. Resolved, Therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

2. Resolved, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence depends upon the State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the federal government, and for which laws that government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

3. Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery after 1800 in all the territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates in congress of 1784 for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the northwestern territory, by the ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in congress, and the entire history of that period clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize or encourage, but to limit, localize and discourage, slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return.

4. Resolved, That our fathers ordained the constitution of the United States in order, among other great national

objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the federal government which they created all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due legal process.

5. Resolved, That in the judgment of this convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king, no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the constitution, or derived by just implication from them.

6. Resolved, That it is the duty of the federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the government possesses constitutional power to legislate on that subject, and it is thus responsible for its existence.

7. Resolved, That the true, and, in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress.

8. Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave States and more slave territory, our calm, but final answer is: No more slave States and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world.

9. Resolved, That the bill lately reported by the committee of eight in the senate of the United States was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slave holders of the State; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into the territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the house of representatives; its passage in hot haste by a majority, embracing several senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery: if made, they must be repealed.

10. Resolved, That we demand freedom and establish institutions for our brethren in Oregon now exposed to hardships, peril, and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free government

and free territories; and not only for them, but for our brethren in California and New Mexico.

11. Resolved, It is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy; therefore,

12. Resolved, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the federal government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the government so far as the same may be practicable.

13. Resolved, That river and harbor improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, to provide therefor.

14. Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote, in various ways, the interest of all the States of this Union; and we, therefore, recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

15. Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are, therefore, in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the expenses of the federal government and to pay annual instalments of our debt and the interest thereon.

16. Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it we will fight on, and fight forever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

## **1852.**

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the platform of 1848 were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

8. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary

expenses of the government, and for the gradual, but certain extinction of the public debt.

9. Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and that above the laws and will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

10. Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

11. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

12. Resolved, That Congress has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

13. Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures settled by last Congress—"the act for reclaiming fugitives from service labor"

included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

14. Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

(Here resolutions 13 and 14 of the platform of 1848 were inserted.)

17. Resolved, That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

18. Resolved, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the law of nations, was a just and necessary war on our part, in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, given aid and comfort to the enemy.

19. Resolved, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and the prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions, and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party and insured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.

20. Resolved, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

#### WHIG PARTY.

The Whigs of the United States, in convention assem-

bled, adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government and their devotion to the constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party was effected :

First. The government of the United States is of a limited character, and is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that powers not granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

Second. The State governments should be held secure to their reserved rights, and the general government sustained in its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

Third. That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party we still adhere to the doctrines of the father of his country, as announced in his farewell address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and never quitting our own to stand upon foreign grounds; that our mission as a republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose upon other countries our form of government by artifice, or force, but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government and the advantages of free institutions.

Fourth. That as the people make and control the government, they should obey its constitution, laws and treaties as they would retain their self-respect and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

Fifth. Governments should be conducted on the principles of the strictest economy, and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof in time of peace ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and in laying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and when practicable by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry equal to all classes and to all portions of the country.

Sixth. The constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors and remove obstructions from navigable rivers whenever such improvements are neces-

sary for the common defence and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States, said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character.

Seventh. The federal and State governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, State and individual welfare.

Eighth. That the series of acts of the Thirty-second Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace, and so far as they are concerned we will maintain them and insist upon their strict enforcement until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity for further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union.

#### FREE SOIL PLATFORM.

Having assembled in national convention as the free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrong, and freedom against slavery: confiding in the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the American people; putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men the following declaration of principles and measures:

1. That governments, deriving their just powers from consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

2. That the true mission of American democracy is to



maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discrimination, of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice and an economical administration.

3. That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

4. That the constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the general government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and, therefore, the government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

5. That to the persevering and importunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is no more slave States, no slave territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

6. That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment or usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

7. That the fugitive slave act of 1850 is repugnant to the constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world; we therefore deny its binding force on the American people and demand its immediate and total repeal.

8. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

9. That the acts of Congress, known as the compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interests of slavery: by their omission to guarantee freedom in the free territories, by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the

powers of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, and the session of large territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people, through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional fugitive slave law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

10. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national; by the total separation of the general government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

11. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

12. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

13. That due regard for the federal constitution, a sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the general government be kept separate from banking institutions: that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt: and that the power and patronage of the government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries and privileges, and by the election of the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

14. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern: and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

15. That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own government and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protest against and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional governments.

17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

18. That as by the constitution "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right to bring such cases before the supreme court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the profession made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

19. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitrations.

20. That the free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great slave compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and denouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the free Democracy is to take possession of the federal government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

21. That we inscribe on our banner free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men, and under it will fight on and

fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

22. That upon this platform the convention presents to the American people, as a candidate for the office of president of the United States, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of vice-president of the United States George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commend them to the support of all freemen and all parties.

## **1856.**

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, that, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage:

1. That the federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes: nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual, but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the president the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the

constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books; and,

Whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholic and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery and concerning the reserved rights of the States.

1. That Congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress: and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850: "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799: that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the constitution and the Union—

1. Resolved, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—Non-Interference by Congress with Slavery in State and Territory, or in the District of Columbia.

2. That was the basis of the compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852—and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

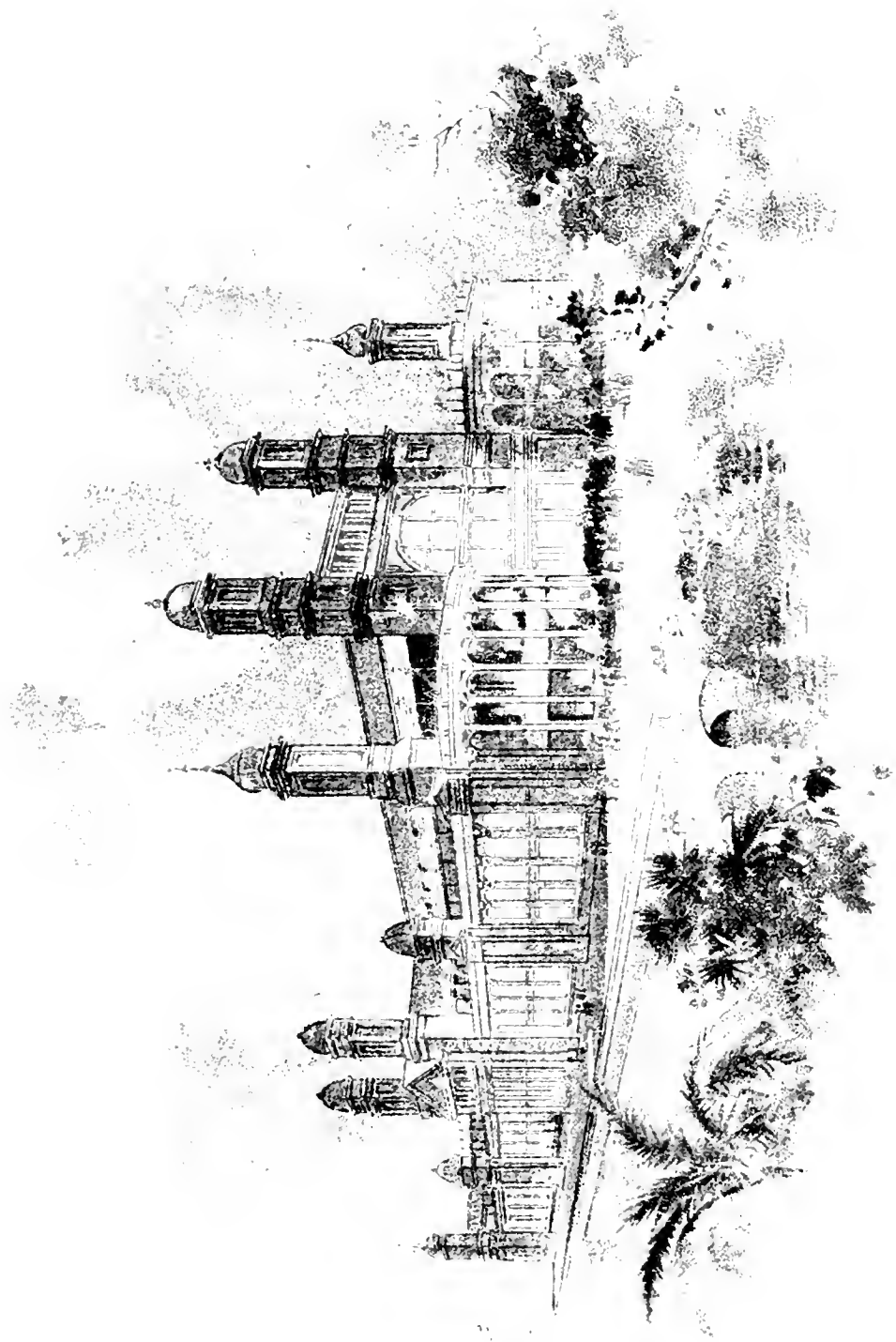
Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land) a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of the States: and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. Resolved, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. Resolved, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine.







Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. Resolved, that the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitute one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it; and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. Resolved, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus.

5. Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and of the Union at large.

6. Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles, and, therefore, true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition he has maintained the laws at home and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad, and, therefore, we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY.

(Made by a union of the Free Soil party and the northern branch of the Whig party.)

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas

as a free State, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who propose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of president and vice-president, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the federal constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the mili-

tary power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present national administration, and that for this high crime against the constitution, the union and humanity, we arraign the administration, the president, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people who gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central and practical route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution and justified

by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of freemen of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

#### AMERICAN (KNOW NOTHING) PARTY.

1. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the union of these states.

2. The perpetuation of the federal union and constitution as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwarks of American independence.

3. Americans must rule America; and to this end native born citizens should be selected for all state, federal, and municipal government employment, in preference to all others. Nevertheless,

4. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad should be entitled to all the rights of native born citizens.

5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, or who refuses to recognize the federal and state constitution (each within its own sphere) as paramount to all other laws as rules of political action.

6. The unequalled recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several states, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will between the citizens of the several states, and to this end non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual states, and non-intervention by each state with the affairs of any other state.

7. The recognition of the right of native born and naturalized citizens of the United States permanently residing in any territory thereof to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the federal constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress.

Provided, That none but those who are citizens of the United States under the constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such territory, are to participate in the formation of the constitution or in the enactment of laws for said territory or state.

8. An enforcement of the principles that no state or territory ought to admit others than citizens to the right of suffrage or of holding political offices of the United States.

9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers or persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10. Opposition to any union between church and state; no interference with religious faith or worship; and no test oaths for office.

11. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted until said laws shall be repealed or shall be declared null and void by competent judiciary authority.

13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in truckling subserviency to the stronger and an insolent and cowardly bravado toward the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in the granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruption which pervades some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudiced caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relation.

14. Therefore, to remedy existing evils and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American Party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated.

15. That each state council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions, so as to abolish the sev-

eral degrees and substitute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations, for fellowship and admission into the party.

16. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

#### WHIG PARTY.

(The Southern branch of the old Whig party. Their convention ratified the nomination of the American party, but adopted a separate platform.)

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, now here assembled, hereby declare their reverence for the constitution of the United States, their unalterable attachment to the national union and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve them for themselves and their posterity. They have no new principles to announce; no new platform to establish; but are content to broadly rest—where their fathers rested—upon the constitution of the United States, wishing no safer guide, no higher law.

Resolved, That we regard with the deepest interest and anxiety the present disordered condition of our national affairs—a portion of the country rabid by civil war, large sections of our population embittered by mutual recriminations; and we distinctly trace these calamities to the culpable neglect of duty by the present national administration.

Resolved, That the government of the United States was formed by the conjunction in political unity of widespread geographical sections, materially differing, not only in climate and products, but in social and domestic institutions; and that any cause that shall permanently array the different sections of the union in political hostility and organize parties founded only on geographical distinctions must inevitably prove fatal to a continuance of the national union.

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States declare, as a fundamental article of political faith, an absolute necessity for avoiding geographical parties. The danger, so clearly discerned by the father of his country, has now become fearfully apparent in the agitation now convulsing the nation and must be arrested at once if we would preserve our constitution and our union from dismemberment and the name of America from being blotted out from the family of civilized nations.

Resolved, That all who revere the constitution and the union must look with alarm at the parties in the field in the present presidential campaign—one claiming only to



represent sixteen Northern states, and the other appealing mainly to the passions and prejudices of the Southern states; that the success of either faction must add fuel to the flame which now threatens to wrap our dearest interests in a common ruin.

Resolved, That the only remedy for an evil so appalling is to support a candidate pledged to neither of the geographical sections nor arrayed in political antagonism, but holding both in a just and equal regard. We congratulate the friends of the union that such a candidate exists in Millard Fillmore.

Resolved, That, without adopting or referring to the peculiar doctrines of the party which has already selected Mr. Fillmore as a candidate, we look to him as a well-trying and faithful friend of the constitution and the union, eminent alike for his wisdom and firmness—for his justice and moderation in our foreign relations—calm and pacific temperament, so well becoming the head of a great nation—for his devotion to the constitution in its true spirit—his inflexibility in executing the laws; but, beyond all these attributes, in possessing the one transcendent merit of being a representative of neither of the two sectional parties now struggling for political supremacy.

Resolved, That in the present exigency of political affairs we are not called upon to discuss the subordinate questions of administration in the exercising of the constitutional powers of the government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging, and that the union is in peril; and we proclaim the conviction that the restoration of Mr. Fillmore to the presidency will furnish the best, if not the only means of restoring peace.

## 1860.

### REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal constitution, "That all men are created equal: that

they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the federal constitution, the rights of the states and the union of the states must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the states this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the federal courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plun-

der of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes by their federal governors of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a state under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the house of representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and en-

terprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the house.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NORTHERN WING).

(The Democratic party met in convention in Charleston S. C., April 23d, but the difference between the northern and southern wings was so wide that the convention split and two conventions were consequently held in Baltimore, the northern wing nominating Stephen A. Douglas, and the southern wing nominating John C. Breckinridge.)

1. Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention in Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same

subject matters, and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:—Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the territories:

2. Resolved, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the supreme court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

3. Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific states; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. Resolved, That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. Resolved, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform that during the existence of the territorial governments the measures of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the federal constitution on the power of the territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the supreme court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.

The Democratic convention met in Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860. The convention after fifty-seven ballots adjourned without nominating candidates.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SOUTHERN WING).

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during

its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the territory, without their right, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by congressional or territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the federal government, in all its departments, to protect when necessary the rights of persons and property in the territories and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a territory, having an adequate population, form a state constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by admission into the union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other states; and the state thus organized ought to be admitted into the federal union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

5. That the enactments of the state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution and revolutionary in their effect.

6. The Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

Whereas, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the national Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY.

This was a continuation of the American party.

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country,

by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles other than the constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws; and that as representatives of the constitutional union men of the country, in national convention assembled we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country: the rights of the people and of the states re-established, and the government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity and equality which under the example and constitution of our fathers has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

## **1864.**

### REPUBLICAN PARTY (REGULAR).

1. Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the union and the paramount authority of the constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves as union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. Resolved, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

3. Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now con-

stitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor furthermore of such an amendment to the constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy who have periled their lives in defense of the country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation and the employment as union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. Resolved, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any viola-



tion of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. Resolved, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to the nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Resolved, That in the future as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the union under the constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both northern and southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of war-power higher than the constitution, the constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable

moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware was a shameful violation of the constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the federal union and the rights of the states unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the constitution—the subversion of the civil by military law in states not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in states where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of state rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense is calculated to prevent a restoration of the union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who now are and long have been prisoners of war in a suffering condition deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our army and sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and in the event of its attaining power they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the republic have so nobly earned.

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY (RADICAL).

The radical Republicans were in favor of more extreme measures in dealing with the South, and met at Cleveland, May 31, nominating John C. Fremont for president. He afterwards withdrew and recommended the support of the regular Republican ticket (Lincoln and Johnson), which was done.

1. That the federal union shall be preserved.

2. That the constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

3. That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms and without compromise.

4. That the rights of free speech, free press and habeas corpus be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

5. That the rebellion has destroyed slavery; and the federal constitution should be so amended as to prohibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.

6. That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.

7. That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; and that any violation of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked.

8. That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recognized principle; and that the establishment of any anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated.

9. That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the union army and navy for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defense of our imperiled country and civil liberty.

10. That the one-term policy for the presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendment.

11. That the constitution should be so amended that the president and vice-president shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

12. That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious states belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the executive.

13. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers is a measure of justice.

## 1868.

### REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The national Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Chicago, on the 21st day of May, 1868 make the following declaration of principles

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the states lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debts is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every

means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources and increase of power to this republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true

foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Democratic party in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war or the voluntary action of the Southern states in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or reagitated, do, with the return of peace, demand :

1. Immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the union under the constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the states by their citizens.

3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought in right and in justice to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the freedmen's bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system, and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened; the credit of the government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the state militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon for-

eign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufacturers, and as will without impairing the revenue impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of the executive and judicial departments of the government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the union under the constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten states in time of profound peace to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the habeas corpus, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American capitol into a bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitu-

tional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the constitution, while the learned chief justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the president. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history and by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the president of his constitutional power of appointment even of his own cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its president we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several states, and have been granted, regulated and controlled exclusively by the political power of each state respectively, and that any attempt by Congress on any pretext whatever to deprive any state of this right or interfere with its exercise is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single, centralized and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the states will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a federal union of co-equal states.

And that we regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress as such, as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void. That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the



proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the president of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the states and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the constitution and restore the union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operating with us as friends and brethren.

Resolved, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

## **1872.**

### **REPUBLICAN PARTY (REGULAR).**

The Republican party of the United States assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, im-

migration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions in the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted **only to** the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the union by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of **race, creed, color** or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere and sympathizing with all people who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expendi-

tures, pensions and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax on tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last through the efforts of the Republican party been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the president have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt in any form or disguise as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt and of the

rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the state and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the hearts of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the vice-presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY (LIBERAL).

A branch of the Republican party favoring more liberal views of reconstruction met at Cincinnati May 1st, nominated Horace Greely and B. Gratz Brown, and adopted the following platform:

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law

and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these states, emancipation and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of persons under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the state self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition and object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no president shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest, but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame for the full reward of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendships of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens without regard to previous political affiliations.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY (REGULAR).

The regular Democratic convention was held at Baltimore, July 9th, and endorsed the platform and nominees of the Liberal Republican convention.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY (STRAIGHT OUT).

A portion of the Democratic party, not approving the fusion with the Liberal Republicans, met at Louisville, September 3d, and nominated Charles O'Connor and John Quincy Adams (both of whom afterwards declined) and adopted the following platform:

Whereas, A frequent recurrence to first principles and eternal vigilance against abuses are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress, and fidelity to our constitutional system is the only protection for either; therefore,

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is consent in every part thereof. The people of each state voluntarily created their state, and the states voluntarily formed the union; and each state provided by its written constitution for everything a state could do for

the protection of life, liberty and property within it; and each state, jointly with the others, provided a federal union for foreign and inter-state relations.

Resolved, That all governmental powers, whether state or federal, are trust powers coming from the people of each state, and that they are limited to the written letter of the constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it; which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the constitution itself stating in what manner they may be altered and amended.

Resolved, That the interests of labor and capital should not be permitted to conflict, but should be harmonized by judicious legislation. While such a conflict continues, labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration.

Resolved, That we proclaim to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles, which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which presidents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating; but we welcome an eternal minority under the banner inscribed with our principles rather than an almighty and everlasting majority purchased by their abandonment.

Resolved, That, having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership by the convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our platform and to rally to the fold and support the true platform and the candidates who embody it.

#### LABOR REFORM PARTY.

The convention was held at Columbus, O., February 21st and 22d. David Davis and Joel Parker were nominated, but declined, and O'Connor and Adams were afterward endorsed. They adopted the following platform:

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges, or immunities from the government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles

are without moral binding force, and should be repealed. And believing that all the evils resulting from unjust legislation now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principle contained in the following declaration; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor by providing a purely national circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and interchangeable at the option of the holder for government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3-65 per cent, subject to future legislation by Congress.

2. That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future exigencies of labor to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

3. That justice demands that the burdens of government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption from taxation of government bonds bearing extravagant rates of interest is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted the landless settlers only in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.

5. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.

6. That the presence in our country of Chinese labor, imported by capitalists in large numbers, for servile use, is an evil, entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime on all classes of the American people, and should be prohibited by legislation.

7. That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all mechanics and day laborers employed by or on behalf of the government, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms or corporations, contracting with the state, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day,



recently adopted by Congress for national employees, and also for an amendment to the acts of incorporation for cities and towns by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

8. That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

9. That the protection of life, liberty and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore money needed for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealthy of the country, and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

10. That it is the duty of the government to exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation or charges, by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the national government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.

12. That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interest of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand and secured on the other by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the country at each election; therefore we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the presidential chair to one term.

13. But we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the union at once on the basis of the equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the states together and restore the government of the people.

14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to national purposes alone.

15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the patent laws, so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own ideas and inventions.

16. That fitness, and not political or personal considerations, should be the only recommendation to public office.

either appointive or elective, and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.

### PROHIBITION PARTY.

Resolved, That we reaffirm the following resolutions adopted by the national Prohibition convention, held at Chicago, September 2, 1869

Whereas, Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties, and every citizen who yields obedience to the just commands of the government is entitled to the full, free and perfect protection of that government in the enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty and private property; and

Whereas, The traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a large mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure; and

Whereas, All other political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question; therefore

We, in national convention assembled, as citizens of this free republic, sharing the duties and responsibilities of its government, in discharge of a solemn duty we owe to our country and our race, unite in the following declaration of principles:

1. That while we acknowledge the pure patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundations of this government, securing at once the rights of the states severally, and their inseparable union by the federal constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchers of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our solemn pledges of fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of American Independence and our federal constitution.

2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive of the ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, but imperatively demanding for its suppression effective legal prohibition by both state and national legislation.

3. That while we recognize the good providence of Almighty God in supervising the interests of this nation from its establishment to the present time, having organized our party for the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic, our reliance for success is upon the same omnipotent arm.

4. That there can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; that any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government, for party success.

5 That while adopting national political measures for





the prohibition of the liquor traffic, we will continue the use of all moral means in our power to persuade men away from the injurious practice of using intoxicating beverages.

6. That we invite all persons, whether total abstainers or not, who recognize the terrible injuries inflicted by the liquor traffic, to unite with us for its overthrow, and to secure thereby peace, order and the protection of persons and property.

7. That competency, honesty and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for holding public office.

8. That removals from public service for mere difference of political opinion is a practice opposed to sound policy and just principles.

9. That fixed and moderate salaries should take the place of official fees and perquisites: the franking privilege, sinecures and all unnecessary offices and expenses should be abolished, and every possible means be employed to prevent corruption and venality in office: and by a rigid system of accountability from all its officers and guards over the public treasury the utmost economy should be practiced and enforced in every department of the government.

10. That we favor the election of president, vice-president and United States senators by direct vote of the people.

11. That we are in favor of a sound national currency, adequate to the demands of business and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder, and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice and the public safety, to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

12. That the rates of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communication, of railroad and water transportation and travel, should be reduced to the lowest practicable point by force of laws wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interest of capital employed, but to the higher claim of the general good.

13. That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by impost duties and by an equitable assessment upon the property and legitimate business of the country, nevertheless we are opposed to any discrimination of capital against labor, as well as to all monopoly and class legislation.

14. That the removal of the burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary and social, imposed by the traffic in intoxicating drinks, will, in our judgment, emancipate labor and practically thus promote labor reform.

15. That the fostering and extension of common schools under the care and support of the state to supply the want of a general and liberal education is a primary duty of a good government.

16. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of color, race, former social condition, sex or nationality, but inheres in the nature of man; and when from any cause it has been withheld from citizens of our country who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the discharge of its duties it should be speedily restored by the people in their sovereign capacity.

17. That a liberal and just policy should be pursued to promote foreign immigration to our shores, always allowing to the naturalized citizens equal rights, privileges and protection under the constitution with those who are native-born.

## 1876.

### REPUBLICAN PARTY.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truth spoken at its cradle—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a chief executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the national government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provisions at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the constitution the president and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all other to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickening conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligation of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures, in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and ten-



dencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the house of representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagements and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

18. We present as our candidates for president and vice-president of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the federal government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and of the Democratic party in each state, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the federal union, our devotion to the constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope, we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of states; but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten states the rapacity of carpet-bag tyrannies, has honey-combed the offices of the federal government itself with incapacity, waste and fraud; infected states and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption by wast-

ing our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent of all business transactions are performed—a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust, and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly 4,000 articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—federal, state and municipal. Our federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to

seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870; or in one decade from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the federal government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race recrossing the Atlantic of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it.

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several states, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred people once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men nor the instrument of their ambition. Here again promises falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, vice-president, judges, senators, representatives, cabinet officers, these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust.

When the annals of this republic show the disgrace and censure of a vice-president; a late speaker of the house of representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late house of representatives exposed in jobbery; a late secretary of the treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late attorney-general misappropriating public funds; a secretary of the navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the president's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a secretary of war impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present house of representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the federal government, in cutting down salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices, and places not required by the public necessities, and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the house that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

#### INDEPENDENT (GREENBACK) PARTY.

This was a continuance under a new name of the Labor Reform party of 1872:

The Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic parties refused to change; and, in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles, and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.

First. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every congressional district of the country, with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

Second. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the government and convertible on demand, into United States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be full legal tenders for all purposes,

except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the government to provide such a circulating medium, and insist in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

Third. It is the paramount duty of the government, in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing and commercial.

Fourth. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made for a long period "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the government may need to sell, providing they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent per annum or even a lower rate.

Fifth. We further protest against the sale of government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fractional currency, which, although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress in taxation an already overburdened people.

#### PROHIBITION REFORM (PROHIBITION) PARTY.

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people to revive, enforce and perpetuate in the government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit in this centennial year of the republic for the suffrages of all good citizens the following platform of national reforms and measures:

1. The legal prohibition in the District of Columbia, the territories and every other place subject to the laws of Congress, of the importation, exportation, manufacture and traffic of all alcoholic beverages, as high crimes against society; an amendment of the national constitution to render these prohibitory measures universal and permanent, and the adoption of treaty stipulations with foreign powers to prevent the importation and exportation of all alcoholic beverages.

2. The abolition of class legislation and of special privileges in the government, and the adoption of equal suffrage and eligibility to office without distinction of race, religious creed, property or sex.

3. The appropriation of the public lands in limited quantities to actual settlers only: the reduction of the rates

of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communication, of railroad and water transportation and travel to the lowest practical point by force of laws, wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interests of capital employed, but to the higher claims of the general good.

4. The suppression, by law, of lotteries and gambling in gold, stocks, produce and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

5. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil, and the protection of purity, peace and happiness of homes by ample and efficient legislation.

6. The national observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employments (works of necessity, charity and religion excepted) on that day.

7. The establishment by mandatory provisions in national and state constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

8. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground of religious creeds, but as a text-book of purest morality, the best liberty and the noblest literature, in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light and that its spirit and principles may pervade our nation.

9. The separation of the government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools, and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws with entire freedom of religious faith and worship.

10. The introduction into all treaties, hereafter negotiated with foreign governments, of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

11. The abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punishment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and nation, which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

12. The abolition of executive and legislative patronage, and the election of president, vice-president, United States senators, and of all civil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

13. The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to im-



migrants from all nations, the guaranty to them of ample protection and of equal rights and privileges.

14. The separation of the money of government from all banking institutions. The national government only should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be subject to prompt redemption on demand, in gold and silver, the only equal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

15. The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio with the decline of wages and market prices, the abolition of sinecures, unnecessary offices and official fees and perquisites; the practice of strict economy in government expenses, and a free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public trusts.

#### AMERICAN PARTY.

We hold:

1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

3. That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage is the true policy on the temperance question.

4. The charters of all secret lodges granted by our federal and state legislatures should be withdrawn, and their oaths prohibited by law.

5. That the civil qualities secured to all American citizens by articles 13, 14 and 15 of our amended constitution should be preserved inviolate.

6. The arbitration of differences with nations is the most direct and sure method of securing and perpetuating a permanent peace.

7. That to cultivate the intellect without improving the morals of men is to make mere adepts and experts; therefore the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

8. That land and other monopolies should be discountenanced.

9. That the government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency and a return to specie payment as soon as practicable.

10. That maintenance of the public credit, protection to all loyal citizens, and justice to Indians are essential to the honor and safety of our nation.

11. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of electoral colleges and a direct vote for president and vice-president of the United States.

**1880.****REPUBLICAN PARTY.**

The Republican party in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration :

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority, it reconstructed the union of the states with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone, it transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens, it relieved Congress of the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold: it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country, it has lifted the credit of the nation from the point of where 6 per cent bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts :

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation: that the fruits of the costly victories

which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

2. The constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated states it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the states, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national, and not by the state tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several states, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several states, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one state, but by the average genius of all.

4. The constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each state is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each state, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the states, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. That we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our sea-coast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them

honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that, to obtain possession of the national government and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of the suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots, and invented fraudulent certification of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of states in the house of representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills upon whose passage the very movement of the government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality.

The equal and steady and complete enforcement of the laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunity guaranteed by the constitution, are the first duties of the nation.

The dangers of a "Solid South" can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation

has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the states. The "Solid South" must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud.

And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the states of this union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible, and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

9. The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare—

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralizationism, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of church and state, for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money—the strict maintenance of

the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, state and national, and a tariff for revenue only. The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

4. The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

5. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of the usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

6. The great fraud of 1876-77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two states, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be president, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue precedes and dwarfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of free men.

7. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

8. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. Nor discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations or monopolies.

9. Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more

Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

10. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

11. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.

12. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress which has reduced the public expenditure \$40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

#### NATIONAL (GREENBACK) PARTY.

The civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social and moral culture; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth-producers a state of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong government, and, hence, a weak people.

Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce; and the scarcity of money enforces debt, trade, and public and corporate loans; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are—deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, we declare:

First. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the government, and not by or through banking corporations; and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Second. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver as well as gold established by law.

Third. That labor should be so protected by national and state authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results. The eight hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control, the competition of contract convict labor abolished, a bureau of labor statistics established, factories, mines, and workshops inspected, the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

Fourth. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

Fifth. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government, and, henceforth, the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

Sixth. It is the duty of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

Seventh. We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.



**Eighth.** That the constitution in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defence of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

**Ninth.** All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

**Tenth.** We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

**Eleventh.** We are opposed to the increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

**Twelfth.** We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the president.

**Thirteenth.** We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

**Fourteenth.** In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and the machinery of government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions and over life and property.

#### PROHIBITION REFORM PARTY.

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people to revive, enforce and perpetuate in the government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit for the suffrages of all good citizens the following platform of national reforms and measures:

1. In the examination and discussion of the temperance question it has been proven, and is an accepted truth, that

alcoholic drinks, whether fermented, brewed or distilled, are poisonous to the healthy human body, the drinking of which is not only needless, but hurtful, necessarily tending to form intemperate habits, increasing greatly the number, severity and fatal termination of diseases, weakening and deranging the intellect, polluting the affections, hardening the heart and corrupting the morals, depriving many of reason and still more of its healthful exercise, and annually bringing down large numbers to untimely graves, producing in the children of many who drink a predisposition to intemperance, insanity and various bodily and mental diseases, causing a diminution of strength, feebleness of vision, fickleness of purpose and premature old age, and producing to all future generations a deterioration of moral and physical character. The legalized importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks minister to their uses and teach the erroneous and destructive sentiment that such use is right, thus tending to produce and perpetuate the above-mentioned evils. Alcoholic drinks are thus the implacable enemy of man as an individual.

2. That the liquor traffic is to the home equally an enemy, providing a disturber and a destroyer of its peace, prosperity and happiness, taking from it the earnings of the husband, depriving the dependent wife and children of essential food, clothing and education, bringing into it profanity and abuse, setting at naught the vows of the marriage altar, breaking up the family and sundering children from parents, and thus destroying one of the most beneficent institutions of our Creator, and removing the sure foundation for good government, national prosperity and welfare.

3. That to the community it is equally an enemy, producing demoralization, vice and wickedness; its places of sale being often resorts for gambling, lewdness and debauchery, and the hiding places of those who prey upon society, counteracting the efficacy of religious effort and of all means for the intellectual elevation, moral purity, social happiness and the eternal good of mankind, without rendering any counteracting or compensating benefits, being in its influence and effect evil and only evil, and that continually.

4. That to the state it is equally an enemy, legislative inquiry, judicial investigation and the official reports of all penal, reformatory and dependent institutions showing that the manufacture and sale of such beverages is the promoting cause of intemperance, crime and pauperism, of demands upon public and private charity; imposing the

larger part of taxation, thus paralyzing thrift, industry, manufacture and commercial life, which but for it would be unnecessary; disturbing the peace of the streets and highways; filling prisons and poorhouses; corrupting politics, legislation and the execution of the laws; shortening lives, diminishing health, industry and productive power in manufacture and art; and is manifestly unjust as well as injurious to the community upon which it is imposed, and contrary to all just views of civil liberty, as well as a violation of a fundamental maxim of our common law to use your own property or liberty so as not to injure others.

5. That it is neither right nor politic for the state to afford legal protection to any traffic or system which tends to waste the resources, to corrupt the social habits and to destroy the health and lives of the people; that the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages is proven to be inimical to the true interests of the individual, the home, the community, the state, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be classed among crimes to be prohibited.

6. That in this time of profound peace at home and abroad the entire separation of the general government from the drink traffic, and its prohibition in the District of Columbia, the territories and in all places and ways over which (under the constitution) Congress has control or power, is a political issue of first importance to the peace and prosperity of the nation. There can be no stable peace and protection to personal liberty, life or property until secured by national and state constitutional prohibition enforced by adequate laws.

7. That all legitimate industries require deliverance from taxation and loss which the liquor traffic imposes upon them, and financial or other legislation can not accomplish so much to increase production and cause demand for labor and as a result, for the comfort of living, as the suppression of this traffic would bring to thousands of homes as one of its blessings.

8. That the administration of government and the execution of the laws being by and through political parties, we arraign the Republican party, which has been in continuous power in the nation for twenty years, as being false to its duty, as false to its loudly-proclaimed principles of "equal justice to all and special favors to none," and of protection to the weak and dependent; and that through moral cowardice it has been and is unable to correct the mischief which the trade in liquor has constantly inflicted upon the industrial interests, commerce and social happiness of the

people. On the contray, its subjection to and complicity with the liquor interest appears: (1) By the facts that 5,652 distilleries, 2,830 breweries, and 175,266 places of sale of the poisonous liquors, involving an annual waste, direct and indirect, to the nation of \$1,500,000,000, and a sacrifice of 100,000 lives, have under its legislation grown up and been fostered as a legitimate source of revenue; (2) That during its history six territories have been organized and five states admitted into the union with constitutions provided and approved by Congress, but the prohibition of this debasing and destructive traffic has not been provided for, nor even the people given at the time of admission the power to forbid it in any one of them; (3) That its history further shows that not in a single instance has an original prohibitory law been enacted in any state controlled by it, while in four states so governed the laws found on its advent to power have been repealed; (4) That at its national convention of 1872 it declared as a part of its party faith that "it disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with the right not surrendered by the people to either state or national government," which the author of this plank says was adopted by the platform committee with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws;" (5) That notwithstanding the deep interest felt by the people during the last quadrennium in the legal suppression of the drink curse, shown by many forms of public expression, this party at its last national convention, held in Chicago during the present month, in making new promises by its platform, says not one word on this question, nor holds out any hope of relief.

9. That we arraign also the Democratic party as unfaithful and unworthy of reliance on this question; for although not clothed with power, but occupying the relation of the opposition party during twenty years past, strong in number and organization, it has allied itself with the liquor-traffickers and has become in all the states of the union their special political defenders. In its national convention in 1876, as an article of its political faith, it declared against prohibition and just laws in restraint of the trade in drink by saying it was opposed to what it was pleased to call "all sumptuary laws." The National party has been dumb on the question.

10. That the drink traffickers, realizing that history and experience, in all ages, climes and conditions of men declare their business destructive of all good, and finding no

support from the Bible, morals or reason, appeal to misapplied law for their justification, and entrench themselves behind the evil elements of political party for defense, party tactics and party inertia having become the battling forces protecting this evil.

11. That in view of the foregoing facts and history, we cordially invite all voters, without regard to former party affiliation, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drink system now existing under the authority of our national and state governments. We also demand as a right that women, having in other respects the privileges of citizens, shall be clothed with the ballot for their protection, and as a rightful means for a proper settlement of the liquor question.

12. That to remove the apprehensions of some who allege that loss of public revenue would follow the suppression of the drink trade, we confidently point to the experience of government abroad and at home, which shows that thrift and revenue from consumption of legitimate manufacture and commerce have so largely followed the abolition of the drink as to fully supply all loss of liquor taxes.

13. That we recognize the good providence of Almighty God, who has preserved and prospered us as a nation, and, asking for his spirit to guide us to ultimate success, we will look for it, relying upon his omnipotent arm.

## 1884.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Democratic party of the union, through its representatives in national convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. but the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the states, and the supremacy of the federal government within the limits of the constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to

the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded.

The Republican party so far as principle is concerned is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or high office. The Republican party during its legal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy—it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed: it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes a policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers—it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions—it organized and tried to legalize a control of state elections by federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor—it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans—it left to a Democratic house of representatives the first effort to equalize both bounty and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of tariff—it created and has continued them. Its own tariff commission confess the needs of more than twenty per cent

reduction—its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures—it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries—it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor—it has depleted the returns of American agriculture and industry followed by half of our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law, attempting to fix the status of colored citizens—the acts of its Congress were oversight by the decisions of its courts. It “accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform”—its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000 which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of the reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice—all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary

reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the federal government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from the custom house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having already been provided; and any surplus shall be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American, continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relation with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious and political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.



The selection of federal officers for the territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil service reform and a compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and state and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the right of property as defined by law. We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the states or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of the

government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government and all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil, and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interest of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as a result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great water-ways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior states easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and the American flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry; under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climate and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immi-

gration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in the Old World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics, acquiescence in the will of the majority, that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the federal government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also the best homage of freedom, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people, in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade and employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republicans of the United States in national convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections; and congratulate the American people on

the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purpose of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration; a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as president of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor as well as capital may have its just reward and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by

the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce.

The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight hour law; a wise and judicious system of general legislation by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Re-

publican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-residents or aliens. And we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitations contained in the arrears act of 1879; so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliance with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the president to offices in the territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced, by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a nation, and not an American federacy of states; the national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care; so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in southern states, by which the will of a voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy; and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

#### PROHIBITION PARTY.

1. The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, acknowledge Almighty God as the rightful sovereign of all men, from whom the just powers of government are derived and to whose laws human enactments should conform as an absolute condition of peace, prosperity and happiness.

2. That the importation, manufacture, supply and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the national and state governments during the entire history of such laws, are everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism, making large demands upon public and private charity; imposing large and unjust taxation for the support of penal and sheltering institutions upon thrift, industry, manufactures and commerce; endangering the public peace; desecrating the Sabbath; corrupting our poli-

tics, legislation and administration of the laws; shortening lives, impairing health and diminishing productive industry; causing education to be neglected and despised; nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the church and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth of our widely extended country; and which, imperiling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberties, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are contrary to God's laws and contravene our happiness. We therefore call upon our fellow-citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws and in the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

3. During the twenty-four years in which the Republican party has controlled the general government and many of the states, no effort has been made to change this policy. Territories have been created, governments for them established, states admitted to the union, and in no instance in either case has this traffic been forbidden or the people been permitted to prohibit it. That there are now over 200,000 distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in their products, holding certificates and claiming the authority of government for the continuation of the business so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican party is insensible to or impotent for the redress of these wrongs, and should no longer be entrusted with the powers and responsibilities of government. Although this party in its late national convention was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past Mr. Blaine has recommended that the revenue derived from the liquor traffic be distributed among the states; and Senator Logan has, by bill, proposed to devote these revenues to the support of the public schools. Thus both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the states and their citizens become partners in the liquor crime.

4. That the Democratic party has in its national deliverances of party policy arrayed itself on the side of the drink-makers and sellers by declaring against the policy of prohibition under the false name of "sumptuary laws;" that when in power in many of the states it has refused remedial legislation, and that in Congress it has obstructed the creation of a commission of inquiry into the effects of this traffic, proving that it should not be entrusted with power and place.



5. That there can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing competition of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter the public morals, the purity of the ballot and every trust and object of good government for party success. Patriots and good citizens should, therefore, immediately withdraw from all connection with these parties.

6. That we favor reforms in the abolition of all sinecures with useless offices and officers, and in elections by the people instead of appointments by the president; that as competency, honesty and sobriety are essential qualifications for office, we oppose removals except when absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness in vital issues; that the collection of revenues from alcoholic liquors and tobacco should be abolished, since the vices of men are not proper subjects of taxation; that revenues from customs duties should be levied for the support of the government economically administered, and in such manner as will foster American industries and labor; that the public lands should be held for homes for the people, and not bestowed as gifts to corporations, or sold in large tracts for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers; that grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors disabled in the service of their country, and to their dependent widows and orphans; that we repudiate as un-American and contrary to and subversive of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that any person or people should be excluded from residence or citizenship who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations; that while these are important reforms, and are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the drink traffic, which now annually wastes \$800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift, dragging down thousands of families from comfort to poverty, filling jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals and institutions for dependency, impairing the health and destroying the lives of thousands, lowering intellectual vigor and dulling the cunning hand of the artisan, causing bankruptcy, insolvency and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangering the perpetuity of free institutions; that Congress should exercise its undoubted power by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, the territories of the United States and all places over which the government

has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no state should be admitted to the union until its constitution shall expressly and forever prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, and that Congress shall submit to the states an amendment to the constitution forever prohibiting the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks.

7. We earnestly call the attention of the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer to the investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry of the needless liquor business. It will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, fomenters discontent and strikes, and the destroyer of family welfare. Labor and all legitimate industries demand deliverance from the taxation and loss which this traffic imposes; and no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production, or increase the demand for capital and labor, or insure so much of comfort and content to the laborer, mechanic and capitalist as would the suppression of this traffic.

8. That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has in all the history of the past been a strength and encouragement which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phase of the movement for the prohibition of the traffic, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, zeal, intelligence and devotion of the mothers and daughters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have been eminently blessed of God. Kansas and Iowa have been given them as "sheaves" of rejoicing, and the education and arousing of the public mind, and the now prevailing demand for the constitutional amendment, are largely the fruit of their prayers and labors. Sharing in the efforts that shall bring the question of the abolition of this traffic to the polls, they shall join in the grand "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," when by law victory shall be achieved.

9. That, believing in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hands of woman is her right for protection and would prove a powerful ally for the abolition of the liquor traffic, the execution of the law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, the removal of corruption in public life, we enunciate the principle and relegate the practical outworking of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition party in the several states according to the condition of public sentiment in those states.

10. That we gratefully acknowledge the presence of the divine spirit guiding the counsels and granting the success

which has been vouchsafed in the progress of the temperance reform; and we earnestly ask the voters of these United States to make the principles of the above declaration dominant in the government of the nation.

#### NATIONAL (GREENBACK LABOR) PARTY.

1. That we hold the late decision of the supreme courts on the legal-tender question to be a full vindication of the theory which our party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of legal-tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold said decision, and to defend the constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive the people of any rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demands of trade and commerce in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes, and the prompt payment of the public debt. We want that money which saved our country in time of war and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of the fractional currency and the small denominations of greenbacks and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hoards of money now locked up in the United States treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

2. We denounce as dangerous to our republican institutions those methods and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties which have sanctioned or permitted the establishment of land, railroad, money, and other gigantic monopolies; and we demand such governmental action as may be necessary to take from such monopolies the power they have so corruptly and unjustly usurped, and restore them to the people, to whom they belong.

3. The public lands being the natural inheritance of the people, we denounce that policy which has granted to corporations vast tracts of land, and we demand that immediate and vigorous measures be taken to reclaim from such corporations, for the people's use and benefit, all such land grants as have been forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract, or that may have been wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation, and that such reclaimed lands and other public domain be henceforth held as a sacred trust, to be granted only to actual settlers in limited quantities; and we also demand that the alien ownership of land, individual or corporate, shall be prohibited.

4. We demand congressional regulations of inter-state commerce, we denounce "pooling," stock watering and discrimination in rates and charges, and demand that Congress shall correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of national railroads. We also demand the establishment of a government postal telegraph system.

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money, should bear their just proportion of the taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

6. We demand the amelioration of the condition of labor by enforcing the sanitary laws in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict labor system, by a rigid inspection of mines and factories, by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial establishments, by fostering educational institutions and by abolishing child labor.

7. We condemn all importations of contracted labor, made with a view of reducing to starvation wages the working men of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

8. We insist upon a constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States senators.

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of the president.

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated and quarreled over, and has divided communities for nearly a hundred years. It is not now and never will be settled unless by the abolition of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue—always raised when the people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws, with a view to raising a revenue from the luxuries, rather than necessities, we insist that as an economic question its importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues; for whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also under high tariff, we have never suffered from a panic or seen our factories or workshops closed while the volume of money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give it to our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor and compete with all the world.

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the subject, we are in favor of submitting to the people an amendment to the constitution in favor of suffrage

regardless of sex, and also on the subject of the liquor traffic.

12. All disabled soldiers of the late war should be equitably pensioned, and we denounce the policy of keeping a small army of office-holders whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the government they helped to save.

13. As our name indicates, we are a national party, knowing no East, no West, no North, no South. Having no sectional prejudices, we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of state as candidates men from any section of the union.

14. We appeal to all people who believe in our principles to aid us by voice, pen and votes.

## 1888.

### REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national constitution and to the indissoluble union of the states: to the autonomy reserved to the states under the constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the states and territories in the union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor,

native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the president and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behests of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it,

and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the state legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the states.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretence of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become states in the union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves constitutions and state governments, and be admitted into the union. Pending the preparation for statehood all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the territory wherein they are to serve.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a state in the union, under the constitution framed and

adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic house of representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana territories to form constitutions and establish state governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as states, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

The political power of the Mormon church in the territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation, asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation: therefore the state or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards.



We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific states, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America; and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830 and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defence against a foreign enemy. The name of American applies alike to all citi-

zens of the republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under the Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided."

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit of President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic house of representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION.

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of their homes.

The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives at the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction, and also endorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible states, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the states or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality and establishing justice.

The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the selection of Grover Cleveland president of the United States, but it challenges the most searching scrutiny concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmaturing it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interests of the tax-payers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the senate.

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the government under Democratic control the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law without regard to race or color has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of these benefits, the Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a chief magistrate who has been faithful, able and prudent. We invoke in addition to that trust the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican party, controlling the senate and resisting in both houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed. The Democratic party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemen of our land the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life

should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition.

Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money far beyond the needs of an economical administration is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national treasury. The money now lying idle in the general treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriation and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation.

Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

Resolved, That this convention hereby endorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the house of representatives.

Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the territories; that right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under

the constitution; that the territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana and New Mexico are by virtue of population and development entitled to admission into the union as states, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing statehood and self-government to their people.

Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland.

### PROHIBITION PARTY.

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, does hereby declare:

1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes and prohibited as such.

2. That such prohibition must be secured through amendments to our national and state constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority, and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in state and nation.

3. That any form of license, taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation, license or taxation enters into an alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the state's welfare, and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their present attitude in favor of licensed iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for prohibition, and through open complicity with the liquor crime defeat the enforcement of the law.

4. For the immediate abolition of the internal revenue system, whereby our national government is deriving support from our greatest national vice.

5. That, an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties, but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus shall be accumulated in the treasury, and the burdens of taxation should be removed from foods, clothing and other comforts and necessities of life, *and imposed on such other articles of import as*

*will give protection to the manufacturing employer and producing laborer against the competition of the world.\**

6. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of race, color, sex or nationality, and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot, it should be restored by the people through the legislatures of the several states on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

7. That civil service appointments for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

8. For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

9. For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption

10. For the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution, without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on any other than the first day of the week.

11. That arbitration is the Christian, wise and economical method of settling national differences, and the same method should, by judicious legislation, be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employes and employers; that the abolition of the saloon would remove the burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its earnings, and would prove to be the wise and successful way of promoting labor reform; and we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof; that monopoly in land is a wrong to the people, and public land should be reserved to actual settlers, and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

12. That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction of all convicts, inmates of other dependent institutions, and others physically incapacitated for self-support, and that no person shall have the ballot in any state who is not a citizen of the United States.

13. Recognizing and declaring that the prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national

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\*The italicized portion of the 5th plank was adopted in haste on the evening of the last day, without being referred to the committee on resolutions, as provided by the order of business. It is claimed that this clause was not legally adopted by the convention, and is not properly a part of the platform.

politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

### UNION LABOR PARTY.

General discontent prevails on the part of the wealth producers. Farmers are suffering from a poverty which has forced most of them to mortgage their estates, and the prices of products are so low as to offer no relief except through bankruptcy, and laborers are sinking into greater dependence. Strikes are resorted to without relief because of the inability of employers in many cases to pay living wages, while more and more are driven into the street. Business men find collections almost impossible, and meantime hundreds of millions of idle public money which is needed for relief is locked up in the United States treasury or placed without interest in favored banks in grim mockery of distress. Land monopoly flourishes as never before, and more owners of the soil are daily becoming tenants. Great transportation corporations still succeed in extorting their profits on watered stock through unjust charges. The United States senate has become an open scandal, its membership being purchased by the rich in open defiance of the popular will. Various efforts are made to squander the public money, which are designed to empty the treasury without paying the public debt. Under these and other alarming conditions we appeal to the people of our country to come out of old party organizations, whose indifference to the public welfare is responsible for this distress, and aid the Union Labor party to repeal existing class legislation and relieve the distress of our industries by establishing the following principles:

While we believe that the proper solution of the financial question will greatly relieve those now in danger of losing their homes by mortgages and foreclosures, and enable all industrious persons to secure a home as the highest result of civilization, we oppose land monopoly in every form, demand the forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership, and such other legislation as will stop speculations in lands and holding it unused from those whose necessities require it.

We believe the earth was made for the people, and not to enable an idle aristocracy to subsist through rents upon the toil of the industrious, and that corners in land are as bad



as corners in food, and that those who are not residents or citizens should not be allowed to own lands in the United States. A homestead should be exempt to a limited extent from execution or taxation.

The means of communication and transportation shall be owned by the people, as is the United States postal service.

The establishment of a national monetary system in the interests of the producer, instead of the speculator and usurer, by which the circulating medium, in necessary quantity and full legal tender, shall be issued directly to the people, without the intervention of banks, or loaned to citizens upon land security at a low rate of interest, to relieve them from extortions of usury and enable them to control the money supply. Postal savings banks should be established. While we have free coinage of gold, we should have free coinage of silver. We demand the immediate application of all the money in the United States treasury to the payment of the bonded debt, and condemn the further issue of interest-bearing bonds, either by the national government or by states, territories, or municipalities.

Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes. The letting of contract labor to contractors should be prohibited, the contract system be abolished in public works, the hours of labor in industrial establishments be reduced, commensurate with the increased production by labor-saving machinery, employes protected from bodily injury, equal pay for equal work for both sexes, and labor, agricultural and co-operative associations be fostered and encouraged by law. The foundations of a republic is in the intelligence of its citizens, and children who are driven into workshops, mines and factories are deprived of the education which should be secured to all by proper legislation.

We demand the passage of a service pension bill to every honorably discharged soldier and sailor of the United States.

A graduated income tax is the most equitable system of taxation, placing the burden of government on those who can best afford to pay, instead of laying it on the farmers and producers, and exempting millionaire bondholders and corporations.

We demand a constitutional amendment making United States senators elective by a direct vote of the people.

We demand the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contract.

We demand the passage and enforcement of such legisla-

tion as will absolutely exclude the Chinese from the United States.

The right to vote is inherent in citizenship, irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of state legislation.

The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolitions of usury, monopoly, and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils.

#### UNITED LABOR PARTY.

We, the delegates of the United Labor party of the United States in national convention assembled, hold that the corruptions of government and the impoverishment of the masses result from neglect of the self-evident truths proclaimed by the founders of this republic, that all men are created equal and are endowed with inalienable rights. We aim at the abolition of the system which compels men to pay their fellow creatures for the use of the common bounties of nature, and permits monopolizers to deprive labor of natural opportunities for employment.

We see access to farming land denied to labor except on payment of exorbitant rent or the acceptance of mortgage burdens, and labor, thus forbidden to employ itself, driven into the cities. We see the wage-workers of the cities subjected to this unnatural competition and forced to pay an exorbitant share of their scanty earnings for cramped and unhealthful lodgings. We see the same intense competition condemning the great majority of business and professional men to a bitter and often unavailing struggle to avoid bankruptcy, and that while the price of all that labor produces ever falls, the price of land ever rises. We trace these evils to a fundamental wrong—the making of the land on which all must live the exclusive property of but a portion of the community. To this denial of natural rights are due want of employment, low wages, business depressions, that intense competition which makes it so difficult for the majority of men to get a comfortable living, and that wrongful distribution of wealth which is producing the millionaire on one side and the tramp on the other.

To give all men an interest in the land of their country; to enable all to share in the benefits of social growth and improvement; to prevent the shutting out of labor from employment by the monopolization of natural opportunities; to do away with the one-sided competition which cuts down wages to starvation rates; to restore life to business and prevent periodical depressions; to do away with that

monstrous injustice which deprives producers of the fruits of their toil while idlers grow rich; to prevent the conflicts which are arraying class against class, and which are fraught with menacing dangers to society, we propose so to change the existing system of taxation that no one shall be taxed on the wealth he produces, nor any one suffered to appropriate wealth he does not produce by taking to himself the increasing values which the growth of society adds to land. What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title; but, by taxation of land according to its value and not according to its area, to devote to common use and benefit those values which arise not from the exertion of the individual, but from the growth of society, and to abolish all taxes on industry and its products. This increased taxation of land values must, while relieving the working farmer and small homestead owner of the undue burdens now imposed upon them, make it unprofitable to hold land for speculation, and thus throw open abundant opportunities for the employment of labor and the building up of homes.

We would do away with the present unjust and wasteful system of finance which piles up hundreds of millions of dollars in treasury vaults while we are paying interest on an enormous debt; and we would establish in its stead a monetary system in which a legal tender circulating medium should be issued by the government without the intervention of banks.

We wish to abolish the present unjust and wasteful system of ownership of railroads and telegraphs by private corporations—a system which, while failing to supply adequately public needs, impoverishes the farmer, oppresses the manufacturer, hampers the merchant, impedes travel and communication, and builds up enormous fortunes and corrupting monopolies that are becoming more powerful than the government itself. For this system we would substitute government ownership and control for the benefit of the whole people instead of private profit.

While declaring the foregoing to be the fundamental principles and aims of the United Labor party, and while conscious that no reform can give effectual and permanent relief to labor that does not involve the legal recognition of equal rights to natural opportunities, we, nevertheless, as measures of relief from some of the evil effects of ignoring those rights, favor such legislation as may tend to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, to avoid the competition of convict labor with honest industry, to secure the sanitary inspec-

tion of tenements, factories and mines, and to put an end to the abuse of conspiracy laws.

We desire also to so simplify the procedure of our courts and diminish the expense of legal proceedings that the poor may therein be placed on an equality with the rich, and the long delays which now result in scandalous miscarriages of justice may be prevented.

Since the ballot is the only means by which in our republic the redress of political and social grievances is to be sought, we especially and emphatically declare for the adoption of what is known as the Australian system of voting, in order that the effectual secrecy of the ballot, and the relief of candidates for public office from the heavy expenses now imposed upon them, may prevent bribery and intimidation, do away with practical discriminations in favor of the rich and unscrupulous, and lessen the pernicious influence of money in politics.

We denounce the Democratic and Republican parties as hopelessly and shamelessly corrupt, and, by reason of their affiliations with monopolies, equally unworthy of the suffrages of those who do not live upon public plunder: we therefore require of those who would act with us that they sever all connections with both.

In support of these aims, we solicit the co-operation of all patriotic citizens who, sick of the degradation of politics, desire by constitutional methods to establish justice, to preserve liberty, to extend the spirit of fraternity, and to elevate humanity.

#### AMERICAN PARTY.

Believing that the time has arrived when a due regard for the present and future prosperity of our country makes it imperative that the people of the United States of America should take full and entire control of their government, to the exclusion of revolutionary and incendiary foreigners now seeking our shores from every quarter of the world, and recognizing that the first and most important duty of an American citizen is to maintain this government in all attainable purity and strength, we make the following declaration of principles:

Resolved, That all law-abiding citizens of the United States of America, whether native or foreign born, are political equals (except as provided by the constitution), and all are entitled to and should receive the full protection of the laws.

Whereas, There are seventeen states in this union wherein persons are allowed to vote at all elections without being

citizens of the United States: and, whereas, such a system tends to place the management of the government into the hands of those who owe no allegiance to our political institutions: therefore,

Resolved, That the constitution of the United States should be so amended as to prohibit the federal and state governments from conferring upon any person the right to vote unless such person be a citizen of the United States.

Resolved, That we are in favor of fostering and encouraging American industries of every class and kind: that the issue of "protection" versus "free trade" is a fraud and a snare. The best "protection" is that which protects the labor and life-blood of the republic from the degrading competition with and contamination by imported foreigners: and the most dangerous "free trade" is that in paupers criminals, communists and anarchists, in which the balance has always been against the United States.

Whereas, One of the greatest evils of unrestricted foreign immigration is the reduction of the wages of American workmen and American workingwomen to the level of the underfed and underpaid laborer of foreign countries: therefore,

Resolved, That we demand that no immigrant shall be admitted into the United States without a passport obtained from the American consul at the port from which he sails: that no passport shall be issued to any pauper, criminal or insane person, or to any person who, in the judgment of the consul, is not likely to become a desirable citizen of the United States: and that for each emigrant passport there shall be collected by the consul issuing the same the sum of \$100, to be by him paid into the treasury of the United States.

Resolved, That all persons not in sympathy with our government should be prohibited from immigration to these United States.

Resolved, That the naturalization laws of the United States should be unconditionally repealed.

Resolved, That the soil of America should belong to Americans; that no alien non-resident should be permitted to own real estate in the United States, and that the realty possessions of the resident alien should be limited in value and area.

Resolved, That we favor educating the boys and girls of American citizens as mechanics and artisans, thus fitting them for the places now filled by foreigners, who supply the greater part of our skilled labor, and thereby almost entirely control the great industries of our country, save, per-

haps, that of agriculture alone; and that our boys and girls may be taught trades, we demand the establishment and maintenance of free technical schools.

Resolved, That universal education is a necessity of our government, and that an American free-school system should be maintained and preserved as the safeguard of American liberty.

Resolved, That no language except the English shall be taught in the common schools supported at the public expense.

Whereas, Unemployed population is the greatest evil that can befall any nation, and in this country it cannot be eliminated by any European methods, such as extra police and standing armies; therefore,

Resolved, That the surplus in the treasury should be devoted to the material improvement of our coast and frontier defenses and the construction of an American navy in American workshops by American labor.

Resolved, That we demand the enactment of a law which shall require all persons having charge in any way, in any department, bureau or division of the government, to forthwith dismiss from the public service all persons employed in or about any such department, bureau or division, in any way or manner, who are not citizens of the United States by nativity or by having fully completed their naturalization papers by due process of law; that no person shall be appointed to or hold office or place in the service of the United States who is not a citizen of the United States, either by having fully completed his naturalization and taken out his final papers by due form and process of law, or who is not a citizen of the United States by nativity.

Resolved, That after the year 1898 it shall be required of every voter, before he exercises the right of suffrage, to be able to read the written or printed constitution of the United States in the English language and to write his own name upon the register, to show that he is fitted to share the administration of the republic.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of labor to organize for its protection, and by all lawful and peaceful means to secure to itself the greatest reward for its thrift and industry, and we believe in governmental arbitration in the settlement of industrial differences.

Resolved, That we are in favor of such legislation by Congress as will re-establish the American marine.

Resolved, That no flag shall float over any public building—municipal, state or national—in the United States except the stars and stripes.

Resolved, That we reassert the American principles of absolute freedom of religious worship and belief; the permanent separation of church and state; and we oppose the appropriation of public money or property to any church or institution administered by a church. We main ain that all church property should be subject to taxation.

Resolved, That the presidential term shall be extended to six years, and the president shall be ineligible for re-election.

Resolved, That the American party declares that it recognizes no North, no South, no East, no West, in these United States, but one people, pledged to our liberty and our independence.

**1892.**

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

SEC. 1. The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of successors in Democratic leadership from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the federal government through accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free, popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the federal capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the states that strikes at the very roots of our government, and under the constitution, as framed by the fathers of the republic.

SEC. 2. We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of the federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the republic. It strikes at the North as well as at the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several states, the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms

now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all: a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first entrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls: but, in contempt of the verdict, the Republican party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the force bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the states. Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the assistance of all citizens who desire to see the constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity, and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the force bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus, and emptied an overflowing treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already over-taxed labor of the country.

SEC. 3. We denounce the Republican protection as a fraud. The labor of the great majority of the American people is for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be the fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for purposes of revenue only. And we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered. We denounce the McKinley law enacted by the fifty-first congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation. We indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw material and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption: and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been



ten reductions of the wages of laboring men to one of increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since the tariff went into operation and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act. We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over two billion five hundred million dollars, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness: that in one of the chief agricultural states of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging one hundred and sixty-five dollars per capita of the total population: and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting states. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

SEC. 4. Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity that juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people.

SEC. 5. We recognize in the trusts and combinations which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition, which is the life of honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

SEC. 6. The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate possess a larger area than that of all our farm lands

between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the imprudent and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred million acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and the laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

SEC. 8. We recommend that the prohibitory ten per cent tax on state bank issues be repealed.

SEC. 9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a president, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of business appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free, popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a president may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

SEC. 10. The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confi-

dence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

SEC. 11. This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake—and in the spirit of the founders of our government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our national government in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

SEC. 12. We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration, of the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages; but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

SEC. 13. This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents, but demand that the work of the pension office shall be done industriously, impartially and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

SEC. 14. The federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great water-ways of the republic so as to secure for the interior states easy and cheap transportation to the tide water. When any water-way of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the government, that such aid shall be

extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

SEC. 15. For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce by and between the states, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

SEC. 16. Recognizing the world's Columbian exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the general government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many such powers of the invitation so extended and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

SEC. 17. Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several states most liberal appropriations for the public school. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to state interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

SEC. 18. We approve the action of the present house of representatives in passing bills for the admission into the union as states of the territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the territories having necessary population and resources to entitle them to statehood, and while they remain territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

SEC. 19. We favor legislation by Congress and state legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employes and those of other hazardous transportation com-

panies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

SEC. 20. We are in favor of the enactment by the states of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

SEC. 21. We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

SEC. 22. Upon this statement of principles and politics the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the republic has grown great and powerful.

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be manufactured in the United States, except the luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming in competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the house of representatives to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead

and lead ores, the chief products of a number of states, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people from tradition and interest favor bi-metalism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions to be determined by the legislation as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government, shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our republican institutions, and the party will never relent its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every state.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern states of the union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of

the most friendly relations with all foreign powers; entangling alliances with none, and protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and relations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employes of transportation companies engaged in carrying on inter-state commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective states that will protect employes engaged in state commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people, and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measures of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state. We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective. We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican convention of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the postoffice department and the highest class of postal service.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua canal is of the highest

importance to the American people but as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States government.

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States. All of the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the states and territories in which they lie, under such congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

The world's Columbian exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performances in the future.

#### PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Assembled upon the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's party of America, in their first national convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, put forth in the name and on behalf of the people of this country the following preamble and declaration of principles:

The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of a moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are de-



moralized; most of the states have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these in turn despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two classes—tramps and millionaires. The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bond holders. A vast public debt, payable in legal tender currency, has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people. Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization or the establishment of an absolute despotism. We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurer may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of Mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from all the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation and filled with the spirit of the grand generation who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the republic to the hands of "the plain people," with which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the national constitution, to form a most perfect union; to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty for our posterity.

We declare that this republic can only endure as a free government which is built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of free men. Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must within a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given the power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the powers of government—in other words, of the people—should be extended (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression and injustice and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions, depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered; believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied, and equal rights and

equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country.

We declare, therefore :

1. That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the republic and the uplifting of mankind.

2. Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same, their enemies are identical.

3. We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the government enter upon the working and owning and managing of all railroads we should favor an amendment to the constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employees.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed two per cent per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmer's Alliance or a better system: also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

3. We demand a graduated income tax.

4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all state and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

5. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

### PROHIBITION PARTY.

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all true government and his laws as the standard to which human enactments must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, presents the following declaration of principles:

1. The liquor traffic is a foe to civilization and the arch-enemy of the popular government. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the nation's home life, thwart the will of the people, and deliver our nation into the hands of rapacious class interests. All revenue laws that, under the guise of regulation, legalize and protect this traffic, or make the government share in its ill-gotten gains, are "vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy." We declare anew for the entire suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage, by federal and state legislation, and the full powers of government should be exerted to secure this result. No party that fails to recognize the dominant nature of this issue in American politics is deserving the support of the people.

2. No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex; and equal labor should receive equal wages without regard to sex.

3. The money of the country should consist of gold, silver and paper, to be issued by the general government only, and in sufficient quantities to meet the demands of business, and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded. No individual or corporation should be allowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per

capita, and made to increase with our increase in population.

4. Tariff should be levied only as a defense against foreign governments which levy tariff upon or bar out our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the government should be raised by levying the burden on what the people possess instead of upon what they consume.

5. Railroads, telegraph and other public corporations should be controlled by the government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges allowed than necessary to give fair interest on the capital actually invested.

6. Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages, and causing discontent; therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until a year after he becomes a citizen.

7. Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of land to railroad companies or other corporations should be reclaimed.

8. All men should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven.

9. Speculation in margins, the cornering of grain, money and products, and the formation of pools, trusts and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.

10. Years of inaction and treachery of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by a constitutional tribunal.

11. Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.

12. We stand unequivocally for the American public schools, and are opposed to any appropriation of public money for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools taught in the English language can we hope to become and remain one homogeneous and harmonious people.

13. We pledge that the Prohibition party when elected to power will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union army and navy, their widows and orphans.

14. We arraign the Republican and Democratic parties

as false to the standards reared by their founders, and faithless to the principles of the illustrious leaders of the past to whom they do homage with the lips; as recreant to the "higher law" which is as inflexible in political affairs as in personal life, and as no longer embodying the aspirations of the American people or inviting the confidence of enlightened, progressive patriotism. Their protest against the admission of "moral issues" into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is "the one conspicuous failure of American politics" follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in congressional appropriations, and both are alike guilty. Each protests, when out of power, against infraction of the civil service law, and each when in power violates these laws in letter and spirit. Each professes fealty to the interest of the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power in their administration of public affairs. Even the tariff issue as represented in the Democratic Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill is no longer treated by them as an issue between great and divergent principles of government, but is a mere catering to the different sectional and class interests. The attempt in many states to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose, and to so deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the rights of suffrage, is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both these parties for the vote of the slums, their assiduous courting of the liquor power and their subserviency to the money power has resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbiters of the destinies of the nation. We renew our protest against these perilous tendencies, and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that has shown in five national campaigns that it prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of the claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights, and the protection of American homes.

\*15. Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

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\*This plank was rejected by an overwhelming majority, but afterwards adopted under a special stress.

# THE WORLD'S FAIR BUILDINGS.

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**T**HE Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building is symmetrically proportioned, though mammoth in size. It measures 1,688 feet in length by 788 feet in width, and covers more than thirty-one acres. It is the largest exposition building ever constructed. Within the building a gallery fifty feet wide extends around the four sides, adding more than eight acres to the floor space. Projecting from this gallery are eighty-six smaller galleries twelve feet wide, from which visitors may view the array of exhibits and the vast moving throng below. Columbia Avenue, fifty feet wide, extends through the mammoth building longitudinally. The main roof is of glass and iron.

The Liberal Arts Building is in the Corinthian style of architecture, and severely classic. The long array of columns and arches which its facades present is relieved from monotony by very elaborate ornamentation. Female figures, symbolical of the various arts and sciences, make it in many respects the most beautiful of the buildings.

The Government Building covers an area of 350 by 420 feet. It is constructed of iron, bricks and glass. The cost was \$400,000. A central octagonal dome one hundred and twenty feet in diameter and one hundred and fifty feet in height is one of the many attractions of this beautiful building. The south hall is devoted to the exhibits of the Postoffice, Treasury Department, War Department, Department of Agriculture. The north half is devoted to the exhibits of the Fisheries Commission, Smithsonian Institute and Interior Department.

The Casino and Pier, with their surroundings, will no doubt delight all visitors to the World's Fair. The Pier is

80 feet wide and extends 1,000 feet out into Lake Michigan. On this the visitors will promenade out to the Casino. The Casino embraces nine pavilions, of the Venetian order of architecture. It is built on piles and its dimensions are 400 by 180 feet. The central pavilion is 180 feet in height, the rest two stories, rising 80 feet from the water. The Pier and Casino will constitute a popular Exposition resort.

Machinery Hall measures 850 feet by 500 feet and with Machinery Annex and Power House cost about \$1,000,000. It is located at the extreme south end of the park.

The Electrical Building is 351 by 767 feet. The south front is on the great quadrangle, the north front faces the lagoon; the east faces the Manufactures Building, the west the Mines Building. This building will exhibit everything relative to electricity.

The Fisheries Building is an interesting one. The extreme length of the building is 1,100 feet and the width 200. It is built on a banana shaped island and subdivided into three parts to conform to the subdivisions. The total water capacity of the Aquaria, exclusive of reservoirs, is 140,000 gallons.

The Horticultural Building is immediately south of the entrance to Jackson Park from the midway plaisance, and facing east on the lagoon. It is 1,000 feet in length and the extreme width is 286 feet.

The Woman's Building is encompassed by luxuriant beds of odorous flowers with a background of stately oaks. It is situated in the north-western part of the park and separated by a spacious distance from the Horticultural Building on the one side and the Illinois State Building on the other, and facing the great lagoon with the wooded islands in the foreground. The site is unsurpassed for beauty of view.

The Transportation Exhibit Building is situated at the southern end of the west flank, and lies between the Horticultural and the Mines Building. The length of the main building measures 960 feet front and 256 feet in depth.



From this will extend westward to Stony Island Avenue a triangular annex covering about nine acres and consisting of one story buildings set side by side. There is a railway track every sixteen feet, and all these tracks will run east and west. The annex may be used to exhibit a full train, either passenger or freight. It is likely that the display of locomotives will be stupendous. In all probability there will be a hundred locomotives exhibited and placed so as to face each other. The exhibits in the building will include everything, of whatsoever name or sort, devoted to the use of transportation, from a baby carriage to a mogul engine; from a cash conveyor to a carrier pigeon. To assist in placing the exhibits a transfer railway with seventy-five-foot tables will run the entire length of the structure.

The Administration Building is the gem of the whole Exposition buildings. The gilded dome of this building attracts the attention of every one. The cost was \$550,000. It covers an area 250 feet square and has four pavilions 84 feet square. The architecture is French renaissance.

The Art Palace is of the style known as Grecian Ionic, the most refined of all classic architecture. It is oblong in shape and is 500 by 320 feet, intersected north, east, south and west by a great nave and transept, 100 feet wide and 70 feet high, at the intersection of which is a great dome sixty feet in diameter. The building is 125 feet to the top of the dome, which is surmounted by a colossal statue of the type of Winged Victory. The transept has a clear space of sixty feet, being lighted entirely from above. This building is located beautifully in the northern portion of the park. The immediate neighborhood of the building is ornamented with classic statuary in both heroic and life size. This building cost between \$500,000 and \$600,000.

The Naval Exhibit is the most unique of all the exhibits. It is surrounded by water and is in appearance a gigantic model of the new coast line battle ships, designed by the bureau of construction and repairs of the Navy Department. The cost is about \$3,000,000. The dimensions are those of the actual battle ship now being built, the length

is 348 feet and width amidship 69 feet and 3 inches. From the water line to the top of the main deck it is 12 feet. Centrally placed on deck is a superstructure 8 feet high with a hammock berthing on the same 7 feet high, and above these are the bridge, chart house and boats.

The Mines Building, the architecture of which is early Italian renaissance, is 700 feet long and 350 feet wide. There are four entrances to the building, one on each side. There are galleries lighted on the sides by large windows and from above by a high clearstory. The exhibits will be interesting in the extreme.

The Agricultural Building, one of the most magnificent structures on the Exposition Grounds, is for the Department of Agriculture. The style is classic renaissance and it is very near the lake shore and almost surrounded by the lagoons that lead to the park from the lake. The building is 500 by 800 feet and the lagoon stretches the full length in the front of the building, which is of one story, 65 feet above the grade. On either side of the main entrance are Corinthian pillars 50 feet high and 5 feet in diameter. Pavilions are reared from each corner and from the center. The latter is 144 feet square. The corner buildings are connected by curtains, forming continuous arcades around the top of the building. This structure covers more than nine acres, and together with the Dairy and Forestry Buildings cost about \$1,000,000.

# Candidates, Electoral and Popular Votes.

FOR PRESIDENT.	Party.	Electoral Vote.	Popular Vote.	FOR PRESIDENT.	Party.	Electoral Vote.	Popular Vote.
1789.				1804.			
Geo. Washington		69		Thomas Jefferson...	R	162	
John Adams		34		C. as. C. Pinckney	Fed	14	
John Jay		9		1808.			
R. H. Harrison		6		James Madison	R	122	
John Rutledge		6		Chas. C. Pinckney..	Fed	47	
John Hancock		4		George Clinton....	R.	6	
George Clinton		3		1812.			
Samuel Huntingdon		2		James Madison ....	R.	128	
John Milton		2		D. Witt Clinton.....	Fed	89	
James Armstrong..		1		1816.			
Benjamin Lincoln..		1		James Monroe ...	R	183	
Edward Telfair...		1		Rufus King.....	Fed	34	
1792.				1820.			
Geo. Washington..	Fed	132		James Monroe .....	R.	231	
John Adams.....	Fed	77		John Q. Adams.....	Op.	1	
George Clinton...	R.	50		1824.			
Thomas Jefferson	R.	4		John Q. Adams ....	Op.	84	105,321
Aaron Burr.....	R.	1		Andrew Jackson...	R.	99	155,872
1796.				Henry Clay	R.	37	46,587
John Adams.....	Fed	71		Wm. H. Crawford	R.	41	41,282
Thomas Jefferson..	R.	68		1828.			
Thomas Pinckney..	Fed	59		Andrew Jackson...	D	178	647,231
Aaron Burr.....	R.	30		John Q. Adams.....	NR	83	509,697
Samuel Adams...	R.	15		1832.			
Oliver Ellsworth ..	Ind.	11		Andrew Jackson ..	D	219	687,508
George Clinton....	R	7		Henry Clay.....	NR	49	530,189
John Jay	Fed	5		John Floyd .....	Ind.	11	} 33,108
James Iredell.	Fed	3		William Wirt.....	AN	7	
Geo. Washington..	Fed	2					
John Henry	Fed	2					
S. Johnson	Fed	2					
Chas. C. Pinckney..	Fed	1					
1800.							
Thomas Jefferson..	R.	73					
Aaron Burr.....	R.	73					
John Adams.....	Fed	65					
Chas. C. Pinckney..	Fed	64					
John Jay	Fed	1					

FOR PRESIDENT.	Party.	Electoral Vote.	Popular Vote.	FOR PRESIDENT.	Party.	Electoral Vote.	Popular Vote.
1836.				1872.			
Martin Van Buren...	D.	170	761,549	Ulysses S. Grant...	R.	286	3,597,070
Wm. H. Harrison...	W.	73		Horace Greeley	D L		2,884,079
Hugh L. White ....	W.	26		Charles O'Connor...	D.		29,408
Daniel Webster...	W.	14		James Black .....	T.		5,608
Willie P. Mangum...	W.	11		Thos. A. Hendricks	D.	42	
1840.				B. Gratz-Brown	D.	18	
Wm. H. Harrison...	W.	234	1,275,017	Charles J. Jenkins...	D.	2	
Martin Van Buren...	D.	60	1,128,702	David Davis.....	Ind	1	
James G. Birney.....	Lib		7,059	1876.			
1844.				R. B. Hayes .....	R.	185	4,034,950
James K. Polk. ....	D	170	1,337,243	Samuel J. Tilden .	D.	184	4,284,885
Henry Clay .....	W.	105	1,299,068	Peter Cooper	Gr		81,740
James G. Birney.....	Lib		62,300	Green C. Smith.....	Pro		9,522
1848				James B. Walker...	Am		2,636
Zachary Taylor.....	W.	163	1,360,101	1880.			
Lewis Cass .....	D	127	1,220,544	James A. Garfield.	R	214	4,449,053
Martin Van Buren...	F S		291,263	W. S. Hancock .	D.	155	4,442,035
1852.				James B. Weaver	Gr.		307,306
Franklin Pierce.....	D.	254	1,601,474	Neal Dow	Pro		10,305
Winfield Scott ....	W	42	1,380,578	John W. Phelps ..	Am		707
John P. Hale.....	F D		156,149	1884.			
1856.				Grover Cleveland..	D.	219	4,911,017
James Buchanan ..	D	174	1,838,169	James G. Blaine....	R.	182	4,848,335
John C. Fremont	R.	114	1,841,264	John P. St. John ..	Pro		151,809
Millard Fillmore....	Am	8	873,538	Benjamin F. Butler	Pro		133,825
1860.				P. D. Wigginton...	Am		
Abraham Lincoln...	R.	180	1,866,352	1888.			
S. A. Douglas. ....	D.	12	1,375,157	Benjamin Harrison.	R.	233	5,440,216
J. C. Breckinridge...	D.	72	845,763	Grover Cleveland..	D.	168	5,538,233
John Bell .....	U'n	39	589,581	Clinton B. Fisk....	Pro		249,907
1864.				Alson J. Streeter...	U L		148,105
Abraham Lincoln...	R.	212	2,216,067	R. H. Cowdry.....	U L		2,808
Geo. B. McClellan.	D.	21	1,808,725	James L. Curtis ..	Am		1,591
1868.				Mrs. B. Lockwood.	ER		
Ulysses S. Grant ..	R.	214	3,015,071	A. E. Redstone.....	I.R.		
Horatio Seymour...	D.	80	2,709,615	1892.			
				Grover Cleveland..	D.		
				Benjamin Harrison.	R.		
				John F. Bidwell	Pro		
				James B. Weaver .	Pro		













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